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THE

PARAMĀRAS

OF

DHĀR

AND

MĀLWĀ.

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BY

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PREFACE.

This account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā was drawn up for the Dhār State Gazetteer, but was only printed in the separate volumes issued for the use of the Darbār.

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THE PARAMARAS OF DHĀR AND MĀLWĀ

BY

CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, AND PANDIT K. K. LELE.

INTRODUCTORY.

The connection which subsisted between the Paramāra clan and the town of Dhār appeared sufficient excuse for endeavouring to collect in the form of a note all that has been so far discovered regarding this line of kings, and attaching it to the Gazetteer of the Dhār State. Additional excuse, if any is needed, lies in the fact that the present Ponwār Marāthā rulers of this State trace their descent from these same Paramāras.[1]

The connection of the Paramāras with Dhar is preserved in many sayings of which perhaps the commonest are:

Jahān Puār, tahān Dhār
Aur Dhār tahān Puār
Dhār bina Puār nahīn
Aur nahīn Puār bina Dhār

and

Prithvī Puārā tani
Ani Prithvī tanyā Puār
Eka Abugarh besno
Duji Ujjenī Dhār.

The Paramāras are Agnikula Rājputs and trace their descent from the sacred fire-pit at Abu.[2] Recent researches shew that the Agnikulas were an offshoot of the great Gurjara clan which entered India in the 6th century and held Kanauja in the 8th[3]. The fort of Achalgarh and the town of Chandrāvatī were long Paramāra strongholds, and we find the chiefs of Chandrāvatī [4] feudatories of the Gujarāt kings up to the 13th century.

The later rulers of this older line of Paramāras are given by Someshvara in his 'Prashasti (eulogy) of V. S. 1287, where he names, Dhūmarāja, Dhanduka, Druvabhata, Rāmadeva, Yashodhavala, Dhārāvarsha, and his brother Prahlādana, Somasinha, and Krishnarāja. Of these the last six ruled from about 1150 to 1360. The Dhār Paramāras were a branch of this older line. It should be remarked, before turning to the history of the Dhār kings, that Tod states that he found an inscription dated in V.S. 770 or 713 A.D. referring to a Rājā Mān Paramāra who is credited with constructing the Mānsarovar lake near Chitor [5]. He also, on the authority of a Jain writer, mentions other Paramāras. Unfortunately Tod was a most inaccurate translator of inscriptions, and no reliance can be

[1] But see Note 65, *Indian Antiquary* xxxvi, 166.

[2] J. Tod—*Rājasthān* i, 88-84.

[3] See *Early Hist.* J. B. R. A. S. xx, 356; xxi, 413; J. R. A. S. 1903, 545; 1904, 439; 1905 J. J. B. A. C. 1; Lxiv, (i), 249.

[4] See list at p. 47. *Kirtikaumudi*,—Appendix, A, 14; Ep; Ind viii, 200.

[5] K.—NI. 7 *Rājasthān*, i, 86.

placed on such statements unless they are supported by reliable information from other sources. There is little doubt that Paramāras did rule in the 7th and 8th century, but not as important or powerful chiefs.

It will be seen that we know nothing practically of the first six chiefs of the Dhār line, except their names.

I.—**Upendra** (*Krishnarāja*). Circ : 800-825 A.D.

Of this ruler we are merely told that he was a great warrior[1] and an orthodox Hindu, who performed Vedic sacrifices, "adorning the earth with golden (sacrificial) posts." In land grants he is called Krishnarāja. The bards state that his favourite wife was called Lakshmidevi, and his eldest son Ajitrāja. Little faith can, however, be put in these tales which are ordinarily modern fictions, with no foundations in fact.

The date of this king is fixed by calculating back from the date of Munja-Vākpati's grant of V.S. 1031 or 974 A.D. Dr. Bühler allowed 150 years for six generations and thus placed this king's accession in 800 A.D.[2]

II.—**Vairasinha I** and III.—**Siyaka I.** 825-875 A.D.

Of these two kings we only know the names, and these from one source only, *viz.*, the *Udepur Prashasti* where each is said to have been the son of his predecessor. The bardic legends assert that the *biruda* (title) of Vairasinha [3] was acquired after great conquests, the king's own name being Shivrāja.

IV.—**Vākpati I.**, 875-914 A.D.

The fourth king of the line was the son of Sīyaka. He is, in the *Udepur Prashasti*, called "the sun for.....the eyes of the maidens of Avanti", which points to his having Ujjain in his possession, probably as his capital town; his armies are also stated, "to have drunk the waters of Gangā and of the ocean". Padmagupta has a few purely conventional phrases about him. Bardic tales narrate that he was named Ajayarāja, and his tutor, Guru Datta. A legend is also related of him. While encamped at Dashāpura, the modern Mandasor, during his father's lifetime he found the people of that district on the verge of rebellion. He called the leaders together and by his persuasive words calmed their apprehensions and averted a revolt. From that day he was given the *biruda* of Vākpati or the lord of eloquence. The bards also credit him with a campaign in Kāmarūpa or Assam, in which he was successful after 27 days' fighting. The name of his favourite queen is given as Kamalā Devi.

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[1] K.—NI., 46 : I. A., vi, 54.

[2] *Udepur Prashasti*, Ep : Ind:, i, 233. Udepur is in Gwalior territory.

[3] *Navasāhasānka Charita* of Padmagupta, translated by G. Bühler and Dr. Zachariae. (*See* I. A. June 1907, 162-165).

He is also credited with a reign of 39 years after which he and his queen Kamalā Devi retired to a life of asceticism at Kurukshetra.

V.—Vairasinha II.—(*Vajrata*) 914-941 A.D.

This king, also known as Vajrata-Svāmin, was the son of Vākpati. The Udepur inscription tells us (v. ii) that "by this king famous Dhārā was indicated (as his own property) when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the sharp edge of his sword (*dhārā*)." This appears to allude to the acquisition of Dhār, afterwards so intimately connected with the clan. The *Nāgpur Prashasti* has a long winded description of him almost totally devoid of historical interest.[1]

This king had a younger brother Dambara-sinha who is mentioned in an inscription of V. S. 1136 (1080 A. D.) put up by a Paramāra noble Chāmunda-rāja who was a member of the ruling house.[2]

The bards recount that Vairasinha went on a pilgrimage to Gayā and assisted the king of Gaur against his rebellious Buddhist subjects, being in return for his services granted the hand of the king's daughter Lalitā.

His reign is fixed at 27 years, and he is said to have died at Ujjain as an old man of 71 years of age.

VI.—Siyaka II.—(*Harsha*) 941-973 A.D.

Siyaka was a son of the last ruler. In the *Udepur Prashasti* he is called Harsha-deva and by Padmagupta both Siyaka and Śrī Harsha-deva.[3] Merutunga in his *Prabandha Chintāmani* calls him Simhabhata.[4]

With this king we commence to obtain some more definite information.

Certain of his exploits are recorded, and he is said to have conquered the Lord of Radūpāti or Rudrapāti, and a king of the Hunas. Who these people were it is difficult to say, but the Hunas were either some Rājput tribe of this name or possibly Muhammadans, as the term was apparently applied somewhat indiscriminately to any foreign invader. In the Udepur inscription we are definitely told that Harsha "took in battle the wealth of King Khottiga,"[5] and are thus given a date on which some reliance can be placed, Khottiga being the Rāshtrakūta, king of Mānyakheta[6], in the Deccan, who was living in 971 A.D., but had died before 972[7]. This fact is, moreover, corroborated by the poet Dhanapāla, a protégé of the next king, in his *Pāiyalachchhi*, (verse 276), where

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1 K-NI. 79 Ep. Ind. ii, 182.
2 K-NI. 69. IA, xxii, 80.
3 *Navas:* xi, 85. xviii, 40.
4 *Prab.*, p. 55. *Rās Mālā* (2nd Ed.) 64.
5 Verse 12.
6 See infra page 44.
7 K-SI. I, 104, I. A, xii, 255.

he states that his poem was composed in V.S. 1029 or 972 A.D., when Mānyakheta had been plundered by the Lord of Mālwā.[1] This gives us our first historical fact in the history of the clan.

Tradition also narrates the death of his general Kanakdeva Paramāra in the Deccan wars. He was a descendant of Dambāra-Sinha.[2]

Padmagupta describes this king as both ascetic and warrior, and there can be little doubt that he ended his days in retirement acquiring *moksha*. His favourite queen is called Vadajā by the same writer.[3]

The bards state that his queen was called Vāg-devī, while the author of the *Bhoja Prabandha* names her Ratnāvalī. Tradition, as preserved by the bardic chronicles, adds that nine lākhs of *dināŕs* were exacted from the Mānyakheta king, besides 45 elephants, 21 chariots, 300 horses and 100 pairs of bullocks.

VII.—**Vākpati II.**—(*Munjarāja*) 973-997 A.D.

This king was, next to Bhoja I, the greatest ruler of this line. He was the eldest son of Sīyaka II, and received numerous *birudas*, being styled Vākpati, lord of eloquence, Utpalarāja, beautiful as the lotus, Munja, from the *mūnj* grass connected with the legend of his birth, Amoghavarsha, of unfailing power, Prithvivallabha, dear lord of the earth, Srivallabha, noble lord and Narendra, king of men.

He is best known by the first and fourth titles, which are those generally used in laudatory verses referring to this king, while Munja is found in addition to these in several Sanskrit works which remark on his literary proclivities. The identity of the bearer of the *biruda* Munja with Vākpati is proved by the fact that the *Nāgpur Prashasti* in its genealogical list mentions Munja where we find the name Vākpati in other records, while in Dhanika's commentary on the *Dasharūpa* of Dhananjaya the same verse is attributed in one place to Munja and in another to Vākpati, showing that the author was familiar with the king under both names.[4]

A successor of Munja in this line of rulers, Arjuna-varman, wrote a commentary, the *Rāsikasanjīvnī*, on the *Amaru-shataka*, and in commenting on verse 22 of this work he quotes a verse of Munja's whose other name was, he asserts, Vākpatirāja.[5] The words run :—

यथा अस्मत् पूर्वजस्य वाक्पतिराजापरनाम्नो मुञ्जदेवस्य ॥
दासे कृतागसि०

Munja had a great reputation as a Sanskrit scholar and poet, but was still better known for his patronage of scholars and men of learning.[6] An allusion is made to this trait of his character in verse

[1] I. A. ii 166; iv, 59 ; P. R. iv, Index lxii ; A. C. i, 267, 332.
[2] K-NI, 69. I. A., xxii, 80.
[3] *Navas:* xi. 85-91.
[4] *Dasharūpa*, (Bibliotheca Indica) edited by Fitz-Edward Hall. *Preface* 2, and text, p. 184-186. A. C. i, 247, 266.
[5] A. C. i, 30, 497. Bühler, *Report* 1877, p. xi of text No 169.
[6] See A. C. i, 460 for references to him by authors.

13 of the *Udepur Prashasti*. Much of this is, no doubt, based on fact, though the praise is mingled with poetical hyperbole. Padmagupta also speaks admiringly of Munja and calls him friend (*Kavimitra*) and brother (*Kavibāndhava*) of poets, and he adds that it was the advice of Munja which led him, Padmagupta, to adopt a poet's career, and concludes his praise of this king in the words:

After the departure of Vikramāditya and Sātavāhana, divine Sarasvatī found a resting place with this friend of poets.[1]

In Sanskrit anthologies and works on rhetoric quotations from compositions of Vākpati are not infrequently met with. All these facts show that this king was a man of higher education than was general among persons of his rank. No complete work of Munja's has ever been discovered.

Merutunga, it should be remarked, has a very similar verse to that of Padmagupta which runs:

लक्ष्मीर्यास्यति गोविंदे वीरश्रीर्वीरवेश्मनि ।
गते मुंजे यशःपुंजे निरालम्बा सरस्वती ॥

When the all-accomplished Munja died, Sarasvatī, patroness of learning, was left without support.

He is credited with writing a poem called the *Gaudavaha kāvya*. The *Yashastilaka* adds that he wrote it when in captivity with Taila II.[2] But in fact the work belongs to poet Vākpati who lived at the court of Yashovarman of Kanauja in the latter half of the 7th century.

Turning to his military exploits, the Udepur inscription, in verse 14, records victories over the Karnātas, Látas, Keralas and Cholas, and specifically mentions his conquest of Yuvarāja, the Chedī king, in verse 15, adding that he "raised on high his sword in Tripuri." This Yuvarāja was ruler of Tripuri from 975 to 1000 A. D., his sister being the mother of Tailapa, who ultimately defeated the Paramāra king.[3]

The success over Yuvarāja was only temporary, however. The success over the Karnātas, nevertheless, shows that the old feud between the Rāshtrakūtas and Paramāras was continued between the Paramāras and the Chālukyas, who had succeeded the Rāshtrakūtas. As regards fights with the Lātas, the fact that the western boundary of Mālwā was contiguous with that of Lāta or Gujarāt makes it likely that feuds were constant between the two countries.

In the *Prabandha Chintāmani*, Merutunga gives highly exaggerated accounts of Munja's exploits. He states that Munja made sixteen expeditions into the dominions of the southern Chālukya king, Tailapa II, and on one occasion after a fight on the Vardhā river actually took him prisoner, but released him.[4] This event is put in V. S. 1031 or 975 A. D. According to the same writer, Munja's

[1] *Navas*, i, 6, 7; xi, 93.
[2] *Subhas*, 115. Bhāndārkar—*Mālatimādhava*. *B. R.* 1880-81, No. 27, p. 184.
[3] Ep: Ind: i, 227,251; ii. 340.
[4] Ep., Ind. i,, 227.

conquests ranged from Madras to Kāmarūpa or Assam, which is obviously mere hyperbole. On the west his attempts to extend his dominions were checked by the Chaulukya king Mūlarāja (941-96) of Anhilwāra in Gujarāt.

About 995 A. D., Tailapa II, determined to take revenge on Munja, and advanced on Mālwā with a large force. Munja's minister Rudrāditya endeavoured to dissuade his master from opposing Tailapa in that king's own country. Munja, however, disregarded his advice, and marched south. In the encounter which ensued, Munja was defeated and taken prisoner.

At first he was well treated, but later on; he endeavoured to persuade Kusumavatī (or Mrināḷavatī), Tailapa's sister who had fallen in love with him to connive at his escape and assist his minister in effecting his release. Kusumavati, however, told her brother and Munja was executed by being hung on a tree.[1]

This fact curiously enough, though mentioned by Merutunga in the *Bhoja prabandha*[2] and also in the *Bhoja Charita* of Rājavallabha[3] and confirmed by inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas, is not referred to by Bilhana in his *Vikramānkadeva Charita*, where one would have expected to find it; Padmagupta is also silent on this point. Possibly Padmagupta considered that his end was too unfortunate to be recorded by a court poet.

This defeat of Munja must have taken place between 994 and 997 A. D., and may be put in 995.

The beginning of Munja's reign must lie near 974 A.D., which is the date of his first land grant [4]; his second is dated in 979[5].

In the colophon to the *Subhāshita Ratna Sandoha* of the Jain writer Amitagati, it is stated that that work was composed in the reign of Munja in V.S. 1050 or 994 A.D.[6]

While king Munja was ruling the earth, this holy work (shāstra) was completed on the 5th day of the light half of Pausha in the year 1050 *since the ascent of glorious Vikramāditya to the abode of the gods.*

In an inscription at Bijāpur dated in V.S. 1053 (997 A. D.), of the Rāshtrakūta, king Dhavala of Hastikundi, he is said to have protected the ruler of Mewār from the Mālwā king, which shows that Munja had invaded Rājputāna.[7]

A defeat of Munja by the Yādava Bhillama II. is referred to in an inscription of A. D. 1000[8].

Tailapa died in *Sh:* 919 or 997 A. D. so Munja's death must have taken place just before that of his conqueror[9].

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[1] B. R. 1882—3, 44, 45; *Rās Māla* i, 86. Ep. Ind. 1, 228, A. S. W. I., iii, 100 K-SI, 140, 143, 398. See list, p. 52.

[2] B. R. 1882-3, 45.

[3] B. R 1882-3, 44, 49 Kielhorn *Search for Sanskrit* M.SS., 1881, 85.

[4] K-NI, 46; I. A. vi. 51.

[5] K-NI, 49, I. A., xiv., 160.

[6] B.R. 1882-3.45 and N.N., 228; 1884-7, 13. P.R., iv, Index ix. A.C, i, 28, 460.

[7] K-NI, 53, J.B.A, lxii, 309.

[8] K-SI, 328. Ep. Ind. ii, 217.

[9] Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Pt : ii, 213.

Only two grants have, as yet, come to light belonging to Munja. The earlier was discovered at the village of Gandhavānī, but is generally known as the Dharampurī plate.

It is dated from Ujjain on *Bhādrapada Sudī* 14th 1031 V.S. corresponding to 974 A. D. It gives a genealogy, Krishnarāja, Vairasinha, Sīyaka, Vākpatirāja-Amoghavarsha, giving several other *birudas* of the last king. It grants the *tadār* or *vadār* of Piparika (now Piplia) village on the Narmadā near Chikhillikā (now Chikhalda, 22°·5′ N. and 74° 56′ E.), the Gardabha nālā (now the Kharga river) and the Pishācha *tirtha* (still a well known place of pilgrimage). A Pandit Dhanika is mentioned, who may possibly be the author of the *Dasharūpāvaloka*.[1] The second grant was written at Gunapura, but issued from Bhāgavatpura. It is dated in 1036 V.S. during an eclipse of the moon in *Kārtika*, and corresponds to November 6th, 979. It gives the same genealogy as the earlier grant. It grants the village of Sobalpur for the worship of the goddess Bhatteshvarī at Ujjain.[2]

These grants show that Munja was a Shaiva. In a fragmentary (unpublished) record at Dhār the name of Munja's minister Rudrāditya is mentioned, but no date is traceable.

Munja's reign of twenty-five years, filled as it was with wars and expeditions, one would suppose, could scarcely have aided him in his pursuit of architectural triumphs as well as his literary studies. He is, however, credited with considerable activity in the erection of buildings and the biggest of the twelve artificial lakes round Dhār, called the Munja-sāgar, is said to have been one of his undertakings. Tradition has it that numerous fine bathing-ghāts surrounded it, but of these there are now no traces, and if they existed they must have been silted up. The tank near the *Jahāz-mahal* at Māndu known as the Munja-talao is also supposed to be his handiwork.

Ghāts are said to have been erected by him at Māndhātā, Maheshwar, and Kubjā-sangam (near Dharampurī), and he is credited with improving the fortifications of Ujjain and beautifying Dhār with many buildings. The Prabandhakāras assert that both these towns were in a most flourishing state and Padmagupta makes similar remarks. Ujjain appears to have been the political capital and Dhār the king's favourite place of residence.

Munja's court was proverbially the meeting place of all the scholarship of India. Of those who thus frequented the Paramāra king's palace, Padmagupta, Halāyudha, Dhanapāla, and the brothers Dhananjaya and Dhanika, are known to us by their works.

Padmagupta[3] :—Padmagupta or Parimala was poet laureate to Munja. On his death Padmagupta was doubtful whether Munja's

[1] K-NI, 46 I A. vi. 51.
[2] K-NI, 49, I.A. xiv, 160.
[3] A. C. i, 321.

brother and successor would extend him the same favour. Sindhurāja, however, continued his predecessor's support of the poet, an act which Padmagupta notes in the words :

The seal which Vākpatirāja put upon my song when he entered heaven, was broken open by Sindhurāja, the younger brother of that friend of poets.[1]

In honour of Sindhurāja, Padmagupta composed the *Navasāhasānka Charita*, Navasāhasānka being one of this king's *birudas*. The poet tells us in the colophon to the first *sarga* that his father's name was Mrigānka Gupta. Padmagupta is also known as Parimala being quoted under this name by Kshemendra of Kāshmīr in his *Auchitya-vichāra-charchā*, *V. V.* 126,140. He was, no doubt, the author of other works but of these, we have, as yet, no knowledge.[2] Of the *Navasāhasānka, Charita*, it should be remarked, that in spite of the simplicity of its style, it is marred by the introduction of interminable and wearisome descriptive passages and long-winded speeches. In style he was an imitator of the older Kālidāsa.

Halāyudha[3] :—Three authors at least of this name flourished in different parts of India, and it is not easy to localise them. According to Dr. Bhāndārkar, Halāyudha, the author of the *Kavirahasya (Kaviguhya)* and the lexicon *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, flourished in the Deccan in about 810 A.D. at the Rāshtrakūta court. Another Halāyudha lived at the court of Lakshman Sen, the last Hindu ruler of Bengal, in 1199 A.D. He was probably the author of a hymn to Shiva inscribed on the wall of the Amareshavara temple at Māndhātā. Another Halāyudha is said by Dr. Bühler to have flourished during the time of Munja. This writer was the author of the *Pingalachchhandashtīka*, a *Sutra-vritti* on the aphorisms of Pingala. Tradition has it that he was chief judge of Munja's realm, and edited a law book called the *Rājavyavahāratatva.*

It may be noted that Aufrecht mentions twelve Halāyudhas.

Dhanapāla:—Dhanapāla was a Jain poet, who wrote a celebrated Pāli lexicon called the *Pāiyalachchhi* or *Deshīnāmamālā* in V.S. 1029 or 972 A.D. He was a protégé of both Munja and Bhoja I. He was apparently a Brāhman converted to Jainism. Besides the work mentioned, he wrote the *Tilakamanjarī* in all probability, and certainly the *Rishabhapanchāshikā*.[4]

Dhananjaya and *Dhanika* :—These two brothers also lived at the Paramāra court. The former wrote a work called the *Dasharūpa*, a treatise on dramatic composition, on which his brother wrote a commentary called the *Dasharūpāvaloka*. Dhanika is also known to have written a work the *Kāvya-nirnaya* dealing with poetical embellishments which he quotes in the *Avaloka*. Their father's name was Vishnu.[5]

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[1] *Navas.*, i, 7.
[2] *See* I. A, xxxvi, 149.
[3] B. R. 1883-4, 4, 8 See also Weber *Sanskrit literature*, 230-242. A. C., i., 764.
[4] I. A., ii, 166; iv, 59. P R. iv, Index, lxii ; A. C., i, 232, 267.
[5] A. C., i, 266, 267. Hall, *Dasharūpa*, Preface, 4 ; I. A. xxxvi, 149, Ep. Ind. i, 237, Peterson, *Subhāshitāvali*, 115.

Tradition relates that Munja was a foundling. It is said that one day Harsha was strolling along the banks of a river, when he saw in a clump of *mūnj* grass *(Sachharum moonja)* a newly born child. He ordered his attendants to pick him up and bring him to the palace. As the navel string was still uncut, the king, who was then childless, decided to adopt him, and he was called Munja from the place of his discovery. The second son of Harsha is said to have been popularly called Kunja, from his having strayed out and been lost a whole day when he was at last found in a bower *(kunja)*. These tales are given for what they are worth, but it may be added that two tanks the Munja-sāgar and Kunja-sāgar near Dhār, either corroborate the tales or indicate their real origin[1].

VIII.—Sindhurāja—*(Sindhula)* 997-1010.

Munja died childless and his brother Sindhurāja mounted the throne in 997 A.D. Though in no way so great a man as Munja, we know more about him than any of his predecessors, owing to the poem of Padmagupta. The Prabandhakāras also treat of him at some length, but their tales are of the wildest. By the latter he is usually styled Sindhula. His *birudas* were *Navasāhasānka* and *Kumār Nārāyana*, as well as the legendary one of *Kunja* mentioned above.

The Prabandhakāras assert that Sindhurāja was a man of unruly character and was in consequence subjected to severe treatment by his brother, who feared him[2]. Merutunga in his *Prabandha Chintāmani* says he was banished and went to Gujarāt settling near Kashaura (*Kāshrhada*), which is, according to the *Rās Mālā*, Kāsindra-pāladi close to Ahmadābād[3].

Later on he returned to Mālwā and was at first well received, but was soon after imprisoned and blinded by Munja, and confined in a wooden cage. During his captivity his son Bhoja was born. These stories of ill-treatment are numerous and would point to enmity between the brothers, were they met with outside the Prabandhakāras' tales. There is, however, no mention of them in other records, and although some enmity may have existed, it cannot have been of a serious nature. Padmagupta merely states that Munja made over his kingdom to his brother, the *Udepur Prashasti* simply relates his victories and states that he was the younger brother of Munja, and the Nāgpur record makes a similar statement[4].

No inscriptions of this ruler are known, and the poem of Padmagupta is our only source of information[5]. Besides the romantic legend related below, this poem mentions the victory gained by

[1] That a foundling should have been allowed to succeed was improbable, but that such cases do occur is well known. In the Datiā State a foundling Bijai Singh succeeded in 1839 much to the annoyance of members of the ruling family.

[2] Ep. Ind., i, 229.

[3] *Rās Mālā*, i, 85.

[4] Ep. Ind., i,233 ; ii, 182. *Navas* : xi. 98.

[5] See full account in I. A., xxxvi, 149.

Sindhurāja over the "Hunas," which is also recorded by the Udepur inscription. Other victories over the people of Kosala, Vāgara, Lāta, Murala, Aparānta (the Konkan), and certain northern kings are referred to in the poem[1].

The romantic story given in the *Navasāhasānka Charita* is briefly this :—

After invoking Shiva and expressing his gratitude for the support of Vākpati and Sindhurāja, Padmagupta describes Ujjain and Dhar[2], the two chief towns of the kingdom, calling the latter the *kula-rājadhāni* or family seat. It should be remarked that Sindhurāja is never called *Dhāreshvara*, as Bhoja I. always is, and moreover it is stated that *residing in the town of Ujjain, he rules the surrounding country.* (*Navas*, xi., 99).

This occupies the first *sarga*, the remaining eighteen being taken-up with the love story.

The king sets out on a hunting expedition in the Vindhya hills. Here he falls in with a *chital* (*chitramrigam*) wearing a golden collar, which excites his surprise. He shoots an arrow at it and wounds it. The deer, however, escapes carrying the arrow (2nd *sarga*). Search for the wounded antelope is made, but in vain. As he wanders, a swan bearing a necklace of pearls appears and drops the jewels at the king's feet. Picking them up he finds they are inscribed with the name of its owner, the Princess Shashiprabhā, the daughter of the Nāga king. The king at once falls in love with the unknown princess and determines to seek her out. (3rd *sarga*).

The king now encounters a maid of the princess, Pātalā by name, who has been sent to search for the necklace. She gives an account of the princess, and explains how the necklace was taken by the swan, who imagined it was a lotus-root. Meanwhile, as Shashiprabhā is resting by the Narmadā river, her wounded deer returns. She withdraws the shaft and finds the name, Navasāhasānka, engraved on the blade, and at once falls in love with the unknown hunter. Pātalā advises the king to go towards the Narmadā, where he will find the princess. (4th and 5th *sargas*).

The inquiries of the love-sick princess, as to how she is to see the owner of the arrow, are next described. (6th *sarga*). The king goes to the river and there meets Shashiprabhā. With the king is his minister who is called Rāmāngada. The two lovers discover their partiality for each other (7th *sarga*). While the lovers are conversing a sudden thunderstorm arises, in the midst of which the princess and her attendants are all whirled away to Bhogāvati[3], a snake-town in the nether regions, while a voice informs the king that he must

[1] The Southern Kosala country is probably meant. Vāgara is the present Bāgar district in the west of Mālwā, Lāta is Southern Gujarāt. The Muralas are the Keralas, here referring to the Chālukyas of Kalyān.

[2] *Navas*, i., 16-55; xviii., 59.

[3] For a Nāga town of this name, see K-S.I., 972 Ep. Ind., iii., 316.

fulfil a vow made by the father of Shashiprabhā before he can become her husband. A *sāras* tells the king what he must do, and following these instructions he hurls himself into the Narmadā and ultimately reaches a cave in the bank. His minister accompanies him. In the cavern is a palace where he meets the spirit of the river, in the form of a beautiful woman, being informed of her identity by a parrot in a cage. The spirit of the river then informs him that Shankapāla, the princess' father, has made a vow to give his daughter to the man, who will destroy the demon, Vajrāṅkusha, who resided in the town of Ratnāvati, 50 *gavyūtis*[1] from that spot, and make golden earrings for his daughter out of the golden lotuses which grow on the lake before the demon's palace. The spirit of the river tells him he is destined to succeed in his venture, and adds that the sage Vanku will assist him, and binding her own bracelet on his arm sends him forth (9th *sarga*). The next *sarga* is unimportant. It relates how the minister wished to spare the king from the danger of the expedition, and incidentally narrates the freeing of the parrot mentioned in the 8th *sarga*, who was in reality a boy under a curse (10th *sarga*).

The next *sarga* deals with the origin of the Paramāras and gives a genealogical list of the rulers of this line. These facts are told by the minister to the sage (11th *sarga*). The 12th *sarga* relates a dream of the king's.

The remaining *sargas* deal with the successful accomplishment of the task, with the assistance of a Vidyādhara [2] called Shashikhanda, who had been transformed into a monkey, but was liberated by the king. His marriage with the princess was celebrated with due pomp. Shankapāla presented the king with a crystal *liṅgam*, which had belonged to the *maharshi* Kapila, who gave it to the snake-king.

It is difficult to say where fact and fiction meet in this po[illegible] Dr. Büller considers that Padmagupta has intentionally dist[illegible] facts and holds that the princess of this legend was a Nāga-Kśhatriya, a clan of whom we have information to shew that they formerly inhabited Rājputāna and Central India.[3] The demon king, Vajrāṅkusha, was possibly a historical personage disguised, otherwise the capital town would not have been so carefully specified.

The scene of this story seems to have lain in the neighbourhood of Hoshangābād, the Nāgas, demons, and Vidyādharas being Kshatriyas and tribes such as the Gonds, living along the Vindhyan range. The Nāga capital may even indicate Nāgpur, the palace on the Narmadā being a summer resort of the snake-king. Returning to the historical matter derivable from this work, we are told in the

[1] A measure equal to 2 *kos* or 4 miles.

[2] The Vidyādharas (possessors of knowledge) are a class of minor deity inhabiting the regions betwixt the earth and the sky, and are of benevolent disposition. They are represented as having much intercourse with men, even intermarrying with mortals.

[3] I. A., xiv,75, C.A.S.R., ii. 310.

Udepur and Nāgpur inscriptions of Sindhurāja's conquests. It seems not improbable that Hunas, mentioned among the people Sindhurāja came in contact with, were the Muhammadans. The invasions of Musalmāns into India had brought them as far as Ujjain in the 8th century,[1] while they entered Northern India in 989 A.D., Sabuktagīn defeating Jaipāl of Lahore at Lamghān in that year[2]. Kshatriya-Hunas are, however, mentioned in some lists of the 36 Rājput clans.[3]

From the Prabandhakāras we hear of struggles between Sindhurāja and the Chaulukyas, Chāmundarāja and Vallabharāja (997-1010 A.D.) of Anhilwāra. Chāmundarāja was a man of evil life and finally abdicated in favour of his son, Vallabharāja, and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Benāres. On his way through Mālwā, Chāmundarāja was deprived of his umbrella of State and other marks of Royalty. He proceeded on his journey, but sent his son a message, praying him to take revenge for this insult on the Mālwā king.[4] Vallabha started for Mālwā, but died of small-pox on his way. This march of Vallabha's is also mentioned in the *Vadnagar Prashasti*[5].

Of the length of this king's reign we have no information. The date of the *Navasāhasānka Charita* is put by Bühler in 1005 A.D., and of Bhoja's accession in 1010, which is, no doubt, approximately correct[6].

In conclusion, it may be remarked that Sindhurāja was apparently an able ruler. He was a Shaiva by religion, as Padmagupta shows in his poem in which the shrine of Mahākāl at Ujjain, a visit to Hāteshvara temple at the Nāga capital and the gift of a crystal *lingam* are recorded. As, however, he is always mentioned with praise by Jain writers, he was, no doubt, tolerant of other forms of faith.

IX.—**Bhojadeva, I**—1010-1055, circ.

Bhojadeva was the greatest king of this line, and one of the most conspicuous figures of early Indian history. No name, save that of the popular hero of Ujjain, Vikramāditya, has gathered such a wealth of legend and romance around it, many tales indeed being now common to the history of both. Bhoja is said to have been born while his father was in captivity. His mother, Ratnāvatī, his father's elder wife, was then living in Munja's palace. Munja, who was childless, held great rejoicings at his birth. Later on, however, he was informed by astrologers that Bhoja was destined to work his destruction, and at once commenced to devise means for removing him. Before the order was carried out an astrologer, called Vararuchi,[7] issued a fresh

[1] E. M. H., i, 442, H. M. Elliot—*The Arabs in Sind*, 37.
[2] E M.H., i, 321. R. T. 74.
[3] *Rajasthān*, ♦, 76.
[4] *Līās Mālā*, i, 69-71. Some writers attribute this insult to Munja, while others make Durlabha and not Chāmundarāja its recipient.
[5] K.-N I., 130 : Ep., Ind, i., 293.
[6] This date is based on the fact that, had Bhoja been of age when the poem was written, Padmagupta must have mentioned him, which he has not done.
[7] This looks like borrowing from a Vikramāditya legend, as a Vararuchi was one of the "nine gems" at that monarch's court.

horoscope, in which he announced that Bhoja was born to greatness and would rule an extensive dominion, including Gaur and the Deccan for fifty-five years, seven months and three days.

पंचाशत्पंच वर्षाणि सप्तमासं दिनत्रयं
भोजराजेन भोक्तव्यः सगौडो दक्षिणापथः

Munja thereupon revoked his previous order and the boy became his uncle's constant companion.

Munja, himself a good scholar, took infinite pains with the boy's education, and at an early age he gave marks of unusual powers. Many stories of his precocity are related by the Prabandhakāras.

The Prabandhakāras also narrate that Munja after a time became jealous of his nephew and again ordered his execution. Bhoja, however, contrived to send to his uncle a verse which has now become famous:—

मान्धाता स महीपतिः कृतयुगालंकारभूतो गतः।
सेतुर्येन महोदधौ विरचितः क्वासौ दशास्यांतकः॥
अन्येचापि युधिष्ठिरप्रभृतयो याता दिवं भूपते।
नैकेनापि समं गता वसुमती मन्ये त्वया यास्यति॥

King Māndhātā, who was the ornament of the Krita age, is gone. Where is he (Rāma) who built a causeway across the seas and destroyed the ten-headed demon, Rāvana (in the Treta age)? Other monarchs like Yudhishthira, Oh King! also went to heaven (in the Dwāpara age). The earth accompanied none of these with her splendour. Yet, doubtless, she will follow thee (to heaven) in this Kali age![1]

Munja, recognizing the force of the rebuke, revoked his order and restored Bhoja to favour. Such is the legend.

To revert to history. Bhoja at his succession was about 15, a few years older than the Emperor Bābar when he commenced to rule. He seems to have at once fixed on Dhār in preference to Ujjain as his capital and thus acquired his *biruda* of Dhāreshvara.

The period of Bhoja's accession was one of great importance in Indian history. Between 1013 and his death in 1030 A. D. Mahmūd of Ghazni, made six expeditions into India, taking among other places, Muttrā, Somnāth, and Kālanjar[2].

Bhoja, moreover, was engaged in the usual feuds with his neighbours. In the *Udepur Prashasti* we are told:—

Seeing the Karnātas, the Lord of Lāta, the king of Gurjara, the Turushkas, chief among whom were the Lord of Chedi, Indraratha, Toggala, and Bhīma, conquered by his mercenaries alone, his hereditary troops, thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the numbers of the fighters. (v. 19.)

Of these people, the Chedi king was Gāngeya Deva (1038-42 A. D.), and his son and successor, Karna Deva (1042-1122) who ruled

[1] I. A., vi, 50.

[2] E. M. H., ii, 37, 450, 452, 456, 462, 463, 467; iv., 28, 139, 180.

at Tripuri[1]. The identity of Indraratha and Toggala is not known. Bhima was Bhimadeva I. of Anhilwāra (1022-63). The king of Karnāta and Lāta was Jayasinha II. (1018-40), and his successor, Someshvara I. (1040-69). The Turushkas are the Muhammadans, this term being similarly used in other inscriptions. Of the campaign with the Chālukyas of the Deccan, the Chedis of Tripuri, Bhimadeva, and the Muhammadans we have some knowledge.

First Chālukya War.—Bhoja in alliance with some neighbouring kings attacked the capital of the Western Chālukya king and appears to have taken Vikramāditya V. (1009-1018) prisoner and put him to death. In the *Bhoja Charita*, however, a long and romantic and entirely imaginary account of this war is given. Briefly, it relates how on Munja's death, his widow, Kusumavatī, sister of Tailapa, became a nun in a Jain convent. She afterwards came to Dhār brooding over the injury done by her brother to her husband. A play was by her arrangement acted before Bhoja, in which the tragedy of Munja's death was represented. This effectually roused Bhoja who marched into the Deccan accompanied by Kusumavatī in male attire. Tailapa was defeated, made prisoner and put to death with every indignity. Kusumavatī after this piece of retributive justice retired to a life of asceticism on the banks of the Sarasvatī.

This story is, however, a pure fiction of the poet's. Bhoja was only a youth in his teens when Tailapa died in 997, and it can therefore only have been Vikramāditya who was in reality attacked. As we know practically nothing of this king, it is possible that he was defeated in some such retributive expedition by the Paramāra ruler[2].

This would account for the advance on Mālwā made by Jayasinha (1018-40), who defeated the Mālwā king and his allies, and dispersed their confederacy. This victory is recorded in an inscription of Jayasinha, dated in *Sh.* 900, in which Jayasinha is styled "a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja,"[3] indicating the humiliation of the latter on the approach of the former. The inscription adds that Jayasinha searched out, beset, pursued, ground-down, and put to flight the confederacy of Mālwā. Dr. Bühler remarks that these statements indicate that the Mālwā king was the aggressor, and that his attack was carefully planned. This campaign must have ended before 1019, the date of the inscription.

The Second Chālukya War.—After a long respite, hostilities again broke out in the reign of Someshvara also called Āhavamalla "the mighty in battle" (1040-69). Someshvara was the aggressor and

[1] See C. A. S. R., x 82; xxi, 113. Ep: Ind. ii, 297, 304. I. A., xvii, 215.

[2] *History of the Deccan*, Sec. xxi. B.B., 1882—3, 45.

[3] K-S I., 152, I. A., v, 15. The allusion here is to the day lotus which fades and closes at night on the rising of the moon. The day lotus (*Surya vikāsikamala*) blooms by day under the sun's rays and fades at night, while the night lotus (*Chandravikāsikamala*) blooms at moon rise and fades at dawn. When one man is eclipsed by another this simile is often used. Here there is no doubt also a reference to the lunar and solar Rājputs.

marched on Dhār with a strong force. King Bhoja being unable to resist him was obliged to fly for his life leaving his capital in the hands of the enemy.

Āhavamalla next turned his attention towards Dāhala, as the Chedi dominions were then called, and utterly destroyed the power of Karnadeva who then ruled at Tripuri.

Bilhana devotes six verses to the description of this event in the *Vikramānkadeva Charita* (*cant.* i, 91-95[1]), but it is not mentioned in any southern inscriptions. In the *Kuvalayānanda*, a Sanskrit work on figures of speech, the author Appaya Dīkshita quotes in illustration a stanza which alludes to a fierce battle in which the king of Kuntala, a country of the Chālukyas, defeated the Mālwā king severely, on the banks of the Narmadā. The stanza runs thus:—

कालिन्दि ब्रूहि कुम्भोद्भव जलधिरहं नाम गृह्णासि कस्मात्।
शोणे नर्मदाहं त्वमपि वदसि मे नाम कस्मात्त्वपत्न्याः॥
मालिन्यं तर्हि कस्माद्वहसि ननु मिलत्कज्जलैर्मालवीनाम्।
नेत्राम्भोभिः किमासा समजनि कुपितः कुन्तलक्ष्मापालः॥

The Sea and Narmadā hold a dialogue.

The Sea: Thou, Oh Kālindi! (the dark-watered Jamna.)

Narmadā: What should I say, son of Kumbha?

The Sea: Why doest thou address me by the name of my enemy (Kumbha, *i.e.*, Agastya Muni who drank up the ocean)?

Narmadā: Am I not Narmadā, why doest thou address me by my rival's name?

The Sea: Why do thy waters wear this dark hue?

Narmadā: Because the Mālwā ladies have mingled their tears, darkened with the collyrium from their eyes, with my waters.

The Sea: What has befallen them?

Narmadā: The Lord of the Kuntala country is enraged.

It is not, however, quite clear in whose reign the battle actually took place, whether in that of Munja, Sindhurāja or Bhoja.

It may well refer to this campaign of Someshvara.

Later, Bhoja appears to have attacked the Chālukyas with some success, and it must be this to which the *Udepur Prashasti* alludes. After this friendly relations seem to have been established between the two kingdoms; for in the time of Someshvara I. (1040-69), his son, afterwards *Vikramāditya* VI., reinstated the Paramāra king in his dominions. *He reinstated the suppliant king of Mālwā in his kingdom, after suppressing his enemies.*[2]

Relations with Bhimadeva I. of Anhilwāra.—Bhoja was constantly at feud with Bhimadeva of Gujarāt (1022-63). According to the *Dvyāshraya*, Bhīma's two chief enemies were the kings of Sind and Chedi. While Bhima was absent on his expedition into

[1] *Vik*: Introduction, 27. Text i, 91—103.

[2] *Vik*: Intro, 31. Text iii, 67.

Sind, Bhoja sent his Jain general, Kulachandra, with a large army of Mālwā Feudatories to attack the Chaulukya capital. Kulachandra stormed and sacked the city and sowed cowries at the palace gate. So great was the loss sustained by the people that " the sacking of Kulachandra " has passed into a proverb. The same general also took from Anhilwāra a written acknowledgement or *jaya-patra* of this victory.

On his return, Bhoja received *Kulachandra* with all honour, but blamed him for not sowing salt instead of cowries. He said that sowing cowries was an omen, showing that the wealth of Mālwā would pass one day to Gujarāt. There is no evidence to fix the date of this successful raid, and none of the Gujarāt Prabandhakāras say that Bhīma retaliated. In the *Vadnagar Prashashti* of Kumārapāla it is stated that Dhār, the capital of the king of Mālwā, was once taken by the Gujarāt cavalry.

His (Bhīma's) horsemen were noted for their skill in wielding the five dhārās, (i.e., blades or weapons).

What wonder is it then if they speedily conquered Dhārā, the capital of the ruler of Mālwā.[1]

This is confirmed by Someshvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* [2] where it is stated that the Chaulukya Bhīma I. vanquished Bhojadeva of Dhārā, and though the latter fell into his hands he spared his life out of respect for his merits. It was probably this raid that brought on Kulachandra's successful expedition. Peace was soon after made and the kings sent ambassadors to one another's courts. Bhīma's envoy was Dāmara or Dāmodar, who appears prominently in Anhilwāra politics as a wit and clever diplomat.

Merutunga in his *Prabandha Chintāmani* relates many tales of Bhoja and Bhīma, and the prevention of hostilities through the cleverness of Dāmodar[3]. He, however, further mentions that Bhīma joined Karna in destroying Dhārā at Bhoja's death.

Bhoja's relations with the Chedis:—The Paramāras were constantly at strife with the Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripuri, a contest, which ended in the fall of the Paramāra power. In the account of Munja it has been noted how Yuvarāja II. (whose sister was Tailapa's mother) was attacked by Munja. Yuvarāja's grandson and successor Gāngeyadeva (1038-42) wielded great power and was styled Vikramāditya. In his turn he troubled Bhoja, but was completely humbled by him. There is a distinct reference to this event in the introduction to the *Pārijātamanjarī Nātikā* of Madana, who wrote in the time of king Arjunavarman of Dhārā (1213)[4].

Victorious is Krishna, like Krishna Arjuna, and like Arjuna the glorious king Bhojadeva, who was able to defeat (his enemies) by leaping arrows; who afforded protection to the whole earth; who

[1] K-N.I. 130, Ep: Ind., i, 296.

[2] *Kirt* : Introduction, xii. Text, p. 10.

[3] Bombay Gazetteer, i, Pt. 1167.

[4] Ep. Ind. viii, 96, see p. 39, *infra*.

assumed the Rādhā attitude (of shooting) which distressed his enemies from roaring terrible arrows, and who had his desire speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāngeya.

Gāngeyadeva was succeeded by his son Karnadeva (1042-1122), the most powerful monarch of this line [1]. At first friendly relations subsisted between him and Bhoja, and Karna is said to have received a golden palanquin as a gift from the Mālwā king. Later on, however, this condition of affairs changed and in 1055 Karna joined Bhima I. of Anhilwāra in an attack on Dhār. The Paramāra king was defeated and driven from his capital, dying soon after.

This event is related in the *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Sukritasankīrtana*, *Udepur*, *Nāgpur* and *Vadnagar Prashastis*.[2] The court poets of the Chedis and Hemachandra do not, however, record this fact.

The anarchy which resulted on the defeat of Bhoja was quelled by Chandradeva, the Gaharwār chief.[3] The Paramāras never regained their position completely, although a partial recovery took place during the reign of Udayāditya.

Other political connections:—The allusion to fights with Turushkas most probably refers to the assistance rendered against the Muhammadans. Contingents were, as we know, sent by the Hindu chiefs to assist Jaipāl of Lahore against Mahmūd of Ghazni. The *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* tells us that when Mahmūd was returning from the capture of Somanāth in 1024 A.D. "he learnt that Paramadeva, one of the greatest rājās of Hindustān was preparing to intercept him. The Sultān not deeming it advisable at the time to contend with this chief, went towards Multān through Sind." [4] This Paramadeva can scarcely be any other king than Bhoja, by far the most powerful ruler whose territory marched with that of Gujarāt. In the *Bombay Gazetteer* it is suggested that this chief was the Abu Paramāra, as his country lay so close to the route Mahmūd would have taken. The Abu chief of the day was Dhanduka who was only a petty feudatory of Bhīmadeva of Anhilwāra and could not possibly have been designated one of the greatest rājās of Hindusthān; nor could he have withstood an invader who had so signally defeated his suzerain. Bhoja is also mentioned by Albiruni[5], which also shows that he was known by reputation to the Muhammadans.

Bhoja as a literary man:—The fame of Bhoja rests in the main on his reputation as a scholar and patron of scholars. His fame is still kept alive in the memory of posterity by legends of his munificent grants to men of learning. In Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* Bhoja is thus referred to:—

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[1] K-NI., 407, Ep. Ind., ii, 297.

[2] I. A., vi, 185, 213, Ep. Ind., i, 232, 294.

[3] K-NI., 77, I.A., xiv, 103; J. B. A., xxvii, 220; I. A., xviii, 9.

[4] E. M. H., ii, 473.

[5] Sachau-*Alberuni's India*, i, 191.

He (Kshitipati) and King Bhoja, famous for their great liberality, were at that moment both equally poets themselves and friends of poets (IV, 259).

Other verses in praise of Bhoja may be mentioned.

Mammata in his *Kāvyaprakāsha* remarks:—

यद्विद्वद्भवनेषु भोजनृपतेस्तत्त्यागलीलायितम्

That there should be such riches in the houses of the learned was the playful work of Bhoja's charities.

The *Prashasti of Vastupāla* at Girnār contains the following lines:—

King Bhoja having gone up penetrating the world of the sun, and king Munja having got the brilliant possession of the heavens, there lives Vastupāla alone to wipe off the dropping tears of beggars.

The Prabandhas are full of the most extravagant praise of Bhoja's munificence, which shew that he carried on or even exceeded the patronage of literature which his predecessors Munja and Sindhurāja had commenced.

Religious views:—Bhoja, there is ample evidence to shew, was a Shaiva by religion. He must, however, have been very tolerant of other forms of faith, and was apparently fond of hearing disputes between those learned in the Hindu and Jain doctrines.

An undated Kanarese inscription from Srāvana Belgola, assigned by Dr. Rice to about 1115 A.D., gives an account of some Jain teachers Among them one is mentioned as Prabhāchandra whose feet were worshipped by Bhoja, the king of Dhār, a statement only possible on account of Bhoja's unusual spirit of toleration, and his support of learning whatever the creed professed by the teacher[2].

In the Dūbkund inscription of the Kachhapaghāta family, a Jain named Shāntisena is said to have defeated hundreds of disputants in a debate (*sabhā*) held before Bhojadeva of Dhār. These persons had assailed Ambarasena and other Jain teachers.

From Dhanapāla, however, we gather that there were limits to his toleration, and the Prabandhakāras, now and then, express annoyance at his acts.

On the tomb of Shāh Changāla at Dhār is an inscription dated in 859 A.H. (1456 A.D.) in which a Bhoja is stated to have turned Musalmān, and taken the name of Abdulla. This story may be an exaggerated reference to Bhoja's tolerant views, but it is scarcely credible that so staunch a Hindu would have embraced Muhammadanism. The feeling against Muhammadans was already very strong owing to their inroads, the destruction they had dealt out to Hindu shrines and the subversion of Rājput kingdoms. Moreover, though they had gained a more or less certain foothold in Northern India, the

[1] A. S. W. I., *Kathiāwād*, i, 172.
[2] K.-SI., 1022, Srāvana Belgola inscp., No. 55, p. 47.
[3] K.-NI., 71, Ep. Ind. ii, 232.
[4] J. B. R. A. S., xxi, 352.

Muhammadan conquerors had not yet troubled Central India and Bhoja would not have needed to embrace Islām for political reasons. The reference is more applicable to Bhoja II. and will be referred to under that king.

Encouragement of literature:—The great support of learning which distinguished Bhoja's administration is chiefly accountable for the renown which his name has acquired.

The most ridiculous and extravagant tales are narrated by the Prabandhakāras who practically place every writer of eminence from the great Kālidāsa onwards at this king's court.

The epithet of *Kavirāj*, which is applied to Bhoja, testifies to the admiration in which his contemporaries held him. The works which are ascribed to this monarch are numerous and deal with a great variety of subjects, and it is not possible to say which of them were actually the king's own handiworks or what share he had in the composition of them, although they were, no doubt all the outcome of his encouragement.

I. *Astronomy and Divination*[1].

(i) Rājamārtanda. (ii) Rājamrigānkakarana. (iii) Vidvajjana Vallabha Prashnajnāna.

II. *Rhetoric.*

(i) SarasvatiKanthābharana[2].

III. *Yoga philosophy.*

Rājamārtanda, a gloss on Patanjali's Yoga sutras.

IV. *Dharma Shāstra.*

Purtamārtanda, and Dandanīti (not in Aufrecht.)

V. Engineering.

Samarāngana Sutradhāra[3].

VI. *Sanskrit poetry.*

Champū Rāmāyana or Bhoja Champū[4]. Mahākālī Vijaya. (not in Aufrecht.) Shringāra Manjarī (Prose tales) (not in Aufrecht.)

VII. *Prākrit poetry.*

Two Prākrit poems lately discovered at Dhār[5].

VIII. The Visrānta Vidyāvinoda.

IX. The Shālihotra, a Veterinary manual[6].

X. A Prākrit grammar.

XI. A Lexicon of Sanskrit.

Aufrecht's *Catalogus catologorum* supplies a very exhaustive list of works ascribed to Bhoja, giving the names of twenty-three works.

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[1] A C. i, 501, 502, 575.

[2] A. C., i, 699.

[3] A. C. i, 697.

[4] A. C., i, 188. This is a poem in seven books of which I and II are attributed to Bhoja and Kālidāsa; III. IV and V to Vidarbharāja; VI to Lakshmana Kavi; and VII to Venkatarāja Dikshita.

[5] Ep: Ind: VIII, 241.

[6] J.R.A.S. ii, 304, A. C. i, 644.

Aufrecht also states that Bhoja is mentioned as a writer on Hindu law by Dashabala, a Buddhist writer, by Shulapānī in the *Prāyaschitta-viveka*, and by Alladnātha, Raghunandana and Vidnāneshvara; on medical subjects he is quoted in the *Bhāvaprakāsha*, and in Mādhava's *Rugvinishchaya*; on astronomy by Keshvārka; as grammarian and lexicographer he is mentioned by Kshīrasvāmin, Sāyana and Mahipa; and is praised as a poet by Chittapa, Diveshvara, Vināyaka, Shankara Sarasvatī, and Kutumbaduhitri.

Of his published works the *Sarasvatī Kanthābharana* is a well known work on rhetoric and is one of the earliest treatises of this kind. It contains five parts, on three of which a commentary by Pandit Rāmeshvara has been written. It is often quoted by writers.

The *Champu Rāmāyana*, a work in Sanskrit poetry, has been published with an excellent commentary by Pandit Rāmchandra Budhendra. The colophon at the end which represents the work as that of Vidarbharāja is a mistake, as both Lakshmana Suri and Rāmchandra Budhendra mention a Bhoja as author who cannot we ll be any one except this king. Lakshmana's references appear, indeed, to leave little doubt on this point, although neither Dhār nor Mālwā are specifically named.

Vidnāneshvara (1080 A. D.) in his well known work the *Mitākharā* on *Dharmashāstra*, mentions Bhoja and his writings on this subject[1]. The Prākrit poems mentioned as having been found at Dhār are dealt with by Dr. Pischel[2]. Incidentally he mentions that verses of Bhoja's composition are found in anthologies, while he has been quoted as an authority in Appaya Dīkshitaon Prākrit Grammar.

Contemporary authors:—Of the writers of Munja and Sindhurāja's days some were still composing works in the time of Bhoja. Dhanapāla was one of these. Of him it is related by the Prabandhakāras that his younger brother Shobhana was converted to Jainism. On hearing of this Bhoja prohibited all Jain monks from entering Dhār for several years. Ultimately Shobhana converted Dhanapāla. Bhoja is also said to have destroyed Dhanapāla's play, the *Tilakamanjarī*, when its author refused to introduce into it certain personal matters which the king desired. It was only saved from oblivion by Dhanapāla's small daughter who had learned it by heart and recited it when Bhoja later on repented of his action.

Another favourite was Kālidāsa, not of course the famous author of the *Meghadūta* and other works, who lived in the 5th century, but a poet of more local reputation. Little is, as yet, known about this writer, as no work of his has ever come to light. The Prabandhakāras, however, tell many anecdotes of his wit and wisdom, and of his readiness in repartee.

[1] *History of the Deccan*, Sec. xii and xiii. Bombay Gazetteer; Vol; Pt. ii, 219,229.
[2] Report of the Archæological Department, 1903-4. Ep. Ind., VIII, 241.

A work called the *Nalodaya* is ascribed to him. It is a poem full of punning rhymes. The authorship of the *Champū Rāmāyana*, mentioned among Bhoja's compositions above, is also said by some scholars to be his, and he is supposed to have put the king's name to it out of gratitude or as a compliment. Whatever the truth is, a Kālidāsa is associated with Bhoja in numerous tales, and has no doubt been the cause of some confusion with the earlier writer of the same name. One Nichula is said to have written a commentary on a Lexicon of Kālidāsa, at the command of the king.[1]

A verse of Rājashekhara *(junior)* mentions three poets of this name.

एकोपि ज्ञायते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।
शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयं किमु ॥

It is found in the *Sūkti Muktāvalī* and *Hārāvalī*.[2]

It should also be noted that in one of the manuscripts of the *Navasāhasānka Charita*, Padmagupta is called Kālidāsa.

Ūvata, a native of Anandapura (*Vadnagar*), states that he wrote his *Mantrabhāshya* on the *Vājasaneya Samhitā* of the Yajurveda at Avanti (Ujjain) in the reign of Bhoja.[3]

Generally speaking, so many works are ascribed to Bhoja that it must be conceded that only some of these could have been written by the king, most being the work of local scholars. Literature was, more or less, in the air in these days apparently, as we find Mahmūd of Ghazni giving support to Persian scholars. Over 400 poets and writers thronged his halls, the chief place being held by Unsuri, the poet laureate. The liberality of this monarch, however, was spasmodic, and Firdausi died of hunger, or at any rate of disappointment.[4]

Grants by Bhoja:—Judging from Bhoja's liberal tendencies one would have expected to find many of his land grants. So far, however, only one is known. This grant was issued from Dhār in V.S. 1078 or 1022 A.D. After invoking Shiva and paying compliments to Sindhurāja and Munja, the king makes over the village of Vīrānaka to Dhanapati Bhatta, son of Bhatta Govind, a Rigveda Brāhman of Ashvalāyana Shākhā, from the Karnātaka. This Pandit is probably the Bhatta Govind who is traditionally said to have presided over a college at Māndu.[5]

Only two inscribed stones of this king's day are known, and they bear the two Prākrit poems mentioned above. They are odes of no literary value whatever, written in Mahārāshtrī dialect and Āryā metre. The first is said to have been composed by the king himself; thus, "A century of verses on the Tortoise supporting the earth by Mahārājādhirāj Shri Bhojadeva." The other was composed under the king's orders in a metre invented by Bhoja himself.[6]

1 J. R. A. S., ii, 58, A. C. i, 99, 280, 295.
2 *Subhas*, 19.
3 B. R. 1882-3, 2. A. C. i, 70,560.
4 Sachau-*Alberuni's India*, Introduction p. 1.
5 K-NI. 57. IA vi, 53.
6 Ep: Ind: viii, 201. Report of the Archæological Department, 1903-4.

Dr. Pischel considers that the poems were not actually the king's handiwork, but the word *nimmviam* (a causal form) shows that the king did not want the second poem, the work of another, ascribed to him.[1]

Dates of Bhojadeva.—Only three dates are known to us by which we can estimate the period of this king's reign. These dates are: 1019 A. D. when the Chālukya Jayasinha III. destroyed the Mālwā confederacy headed by Bhoja; 1022 A.D. the date of his land grant; and 1042 the date of his *Rājamrigānkakarana.*

The exact date of his accession and death are unknown. The discovery of the land grant of his successor Jayasinha dated in V.S. 1122 or 1055 A.D., however, does give us a limit. Considering the troubles which followed on Bhoja's death, his successor Jayasinha can scarcely have been supposed to have ruled more than a year or two on either side of this date, and 1053 or 1054 may be safely taken as that of Bhoja's death. Dr. Bühler has placed the commencement of this reign in 1010 A.D.

It is possible, however, to put it in 1000. This would agree with the prophesied length of 55 years, 7 months and 3 days. These prophesies are almost always manufactured after the event, and are not bad indications of the real length of a reign. Sindhurāja's time on the throne would have to be curtailed by a few years. This seems correct, as from what is known of this king, his reign cannot have been a long one. Before the discovery of Jayasinha's land grant, Bhoja's reign was, on the authority of passages in the *Vikramānkadeva Charita* and *Rājatarangini*, extended to 1062, the year in which Anantadeva abdicated from the Kāshmīr throne in favour of his son Kalasa. These passages are interesting, and though no longer useful in fixing Bhoja's death, they do not raise any difficulties as to his death having occurred in 1055 A.D.

These passages are:

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ।
सूरी तस्मिन्क्षणे तुल्यं द्वावास्तां कविबान्धवौ॥

Rajtar: vii, 259.

यस्य भ्राता क्षितिपतिरिति क्षात्रतेजोनिधानं।
भोजक्ष्मा भृत्सकृशमहिमालोहराखण्डलोभूत्॥

Vik: xviii, 47.

Kalasa's brother (or cousin) named Kshitipati, the lord of Lohara was a repository of Kshatriya valour and resembled Bhoja in fame.

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[1] These poems are beautifully cut and shew the great perfection this art had attained. Possibly the engraver in these cases was Govind Huna Rāja, grandfather of the artist Bhāskara, who engraved the Harkeli Nātikā of the Chauhān king, Vigraharāja, found in the *Arāhi-din-ka-Jhomprā* at Ajmer.

He is thus described.

"A talented man was born in the spotless family of Huna kings, called Govinda. He became a favourite of Bhojadeva, through his numerous good qualities appreciated by the wise. His son Mahipati and grandson Bhāskara were also excellent workmen (and the last mentioned) engraved the play composed by Vigraharāja."

See K. NI., 134, I. A., xix 201, C. A. S. R., i, 185, V. O. J., vii, 191.

These two thus describe, Kshitipati, the Kāshmīr king as resembling Bhoja in learning. Moreover, they shew that Kshitipati, Kalasa, and Bhoja, as well as the poet Bilhana were contemporaries. Dr. Bühler took the word *tasminkshane* to imply that Bhoja was alive after the accession of Kalasadeva; but the context does not seem to warrant this assumption.

भोजक्ष्माभृत्स खलु न खलैस्तस्य साम्यं नरेन्द्रै ।
स्तत्प्रस्थक्षं किमिति भवता नागतं हा हतास्मि ।।
यस्य द्वारीड्डमरशिखरस्कोडपारावतानाम्।
नादव्याजादिति सकरुणं व्याजहारिव धारा ।।

Vik: xviii, 96.

This third stanza was translated by Dr. Bühler under the impression that Bhoja was living when Bilhana was travelling in Central India, and that it gives expression to his sorrow at not visiting Dhār. He translates if thus:

Simulating the cooing of the pigeons that nested on the lofty turrets of her gates, Dhārā cried to him (Bilhana) in pitiful tones, "Bhoja is my king. He forsooth is none of the vulgar princes. Woe is me! why didst thou not come into his presence?"

The stanza may equally well, however, mean that Bilhana visited Dhār after Bhoja's death, and thus failed to see the famous scholar-king.

Extent of territory.—Though the influence of the Paramāras was greatly extended by Bhoja, his actual territories do not seem to have exceeded those of Munja. North of the Narmadā, at any rate, they covered more or less the same country as is now included in Central India, exclusive of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. To the south, however, they appear to have at one time reached the banks of the Godāvarī river. The region between the Narmadā and Godāvarī must, however, have always been debatable country between the Paramāra and Chālukya chiefs. The inscriptions give the usual exaggerated accounts, ascribing limits which stretched from Gaur to Mahārāshtra.

Public Works:—Tradition gives Bhoja credit for numerous public works, not only in Mālwā but in other parts of India also, the *Udepur Prashasti* stating that:

He made the world (Jagati, i.e., the world or a site for a building) worthy of its name, by covering it all round with temples dedicated to Kedāreshvara, Rāmeshvara, Somanātha, Sundira, Kāla, Anala, and Rudra. (v. 21).

No definite traces of his handiwork remain, though some still bear his name, such as the Bhoja-shālā at Dhār, *ghāts* at Ujjain, the Bhojpur[1] lake in Bhopāl State, and the Pāpasūdana lake in Kāshmīr.

The *Bhoja-shālā*, better known as the Kamāl-maula mosque, has furnished several Prākrit and Sanskrit inscriptions. This building is

[1] Tradition connects Bhojpur in the Shahābād District with this king. This place is a settlement of the Ujjainī Rājputs and in all probability they have connected their present abode with the famous ruler of Mālwā.

as *it* stands, a mosque which was erected on the site of a temple to Sarasvatī. This temple may possibly have been built by Bhoja. It contained apparently numerous Sanskrit treatises, which were inscribed on basalt slabs. These slabs were used by the Muhammadans to form the floor of the mosque and are now illegible. The temple is called in Arjuna Varman's *Prashasti*, Sarasvatī-sadana and Bhāratī-bhavana, and is styled the "rendezvous of great poets, scholars prominent in the three Vedas and critics and accomplished men possessing great appreciation and taste, who came there from all quarters". The building was converted into a mosque by Muhammad Shāh Khilji of Mālwā, in 861 A. H. or 1457 A. D., as appears from a Persian inscription on the gateway. It was called the Kamāl-maulā mosque after Maulānā Kamāl-u-dīn whose tomb stands in an adjoining building. Close to it is an old well called the Akkala-kuvi or well of wisdom, its waters giving wisdom to all who drank of them. Besides the slabs mentioned above, two pillars bear grammatical tables of the time of Udayādtiya, cut in serpentine shape[1].

The Lāt Masjid:—[2]. This mosque is built of remains which are supposed to date from Bhoja's day. The iron pillar or *lāt* lying near the mosque from which it takes its name is said to have been put up by Arjuna Varman. It seems, however, quite as likely to have been erected by Bhoja to commemorate his victory over the Chālukyas of the Deccan, and the Chedis of Tripurī under Gāngeya-deva. In this connection the following suggestion is put forward with all diffidence. Folk lore and legend almost always bear a germ of fact, though it is not always easy to sift it out from the husks of romance which surround it.

A well known proverb and legend are connected with this iron pillar.

There once lived, it is said, in Dhār city an oil-woman (*Telīn*) of gigantic stature. Her name was *Gāngī* or *Gānglī telīn*. The giantess possessed a pair of scales to match her height and the great iron bar lying by the mosque was originally the beam of her balance, the huge stones beside it her weights. She resided at Nālchhā, and a hill on the road between Dhār and Nālchhā called the *Telin-tekrī* was made of the dust shaken out of her gown.

This legend makes no reference whatever to Bhoja, but the proverb which any local peasant will recite runs:

Kahān Rājā Bhoja aur kahān Gānglī telīn,

How (exalted) is Rājā Bhoja, and how (low) is Gānglī Telīn.

The proverb now a days merely refers to the unattainably high rank of Bhoja and the depths of degradation of the *telin*, with a hidden reference to her superiority to Bhoja in physical stature.

At first sight there would appear to be no connection between legend and proverb, but it is possible to explain it in the light of events which fell in Bhoja's day.

[1] J. B. R. A., S., xxi, 350 A. S. W. I., Progress Report, June 1904, 16.
[2] J. B. R. A., S., xxi, 317.

Bhoja defeated Gāngeyadeva the Chedi and Jayasinha, the Chālukya of the Deccan, whose provinces comprised Telingana, from which fact these Deccan kings were often styled Telingana rājās.

The *Lāt* may have originally been erected to commemorate this victory and have been, therefore, called the *Gāngeya-Telingana lāta*. The village of Nālchhā lies in the route these kings would have taken in advancing on Dhār, and they may well have selected the hill on this route as a suitable position. This hill then became known as the *Telingana-tekri*.

A pithy saying is at once seized upon by the people and no better way could be found of expressing admiration for the victors and contempt of the vanquished than the saying:

How exalted is King Bhoja, how low his enemies
Gāngeya and the Telingana.

Traditions were afterwards lost, names and deeds forgotten and the phrase was corrupted, but it was so common that it had to be explained in some way.

The transition from Gāngeya and Telingana to Gāngī or Gāngli and Telin is easy[1]. Gānglī is a name of more or less contempt, while a *telin* is a low-caste woman. Popular ignorance of past history and love of the fantastic soon threw a halo of mystery round this simple phrase and the proverb being unintelligible as regards the *lāt*, the question arose, who was Gānglī Telin? and what had the great iron pillar to do with her, and why was she compared to Bhoja? The answer gradually evolved from the common conscience, Gānglī was a giantess; the pillar, the beam of her balance; the stones, the weights; and the hill, the dust beaten from her dress.

It should be mentioned that it is not possible to say certainly which Telingana monarch was defeated on this occasion. The event must have taken place before 1042 A.D. as Karnadeva then succeeded Gāngeyadeva.[2] Another iron *lāt* stands in front of the mosque at Māndu and tradition now connects this with the famous Banāphar heroes of Chand's *Raiasa*, Alhā and Udal, calling it *Alhā-Udal-kā-sānga*.

The old fortifications called the Kot which surrounded Dhār are attributed to Bhoja.

In Māndu or Mandapadurga, as it was styled in those days, Bhoja is credited with raising battlements and also erecting a college for several hundred students under the presidency of Pandit

[1] A similar transition has taken place at Gwalior where the *Teli-mandir*, the curious temple with a waggon roof of southern type, certainly takes its name from this peculiarity and was originally called the *Telingana-mandir*.

[2] If Albiruni had personal knowledge of Dhār we might have presumed the pillar was not erected in his day, as he does not mention it. His reference to the silver bar in Dhār city is purely legendary, however, and does not prove that he really knew anything about the place. (Sachau-*Albiruni's India*, i., 191.)

Bhatta Govind. A well at Māndu still bears the king's name. At Ujjain[1], Bhoja is also credited with building *ghāts* and temples.

The great lake at Bhojpur of which the old dams still stand is another work always assigned to Bhoja's activity. In the fifteenth century it was destroyed by Hoshang Shāh, of Mālwā, and now its bed forms the most fertile tract in the Bhopāl State.[2]

The Pāpasūdana tank in Kāshmīr is described at some length in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3] Bhoja vowed that he would always wash in water from this spring.[4] The spring is thus described by Dr. Stein. "At the tīrth or sacred spring of Pāpasūdana Shiva is worshipped under the name of Kapāteshvara. The tīrth is situated in Kother (derived from Kapāteshvara) in the pargana of Kuthar (33° 41'N. 75° 11'E). It consists of a large circular tank fed by springs and enclosed by a massive stone wall which the tradition referred to by Kalhana (V 190 et seq.:) and still locally remembered, ascribes to king Bhoja of Mālwā. The sacred spring rises in a circular tank of at least 60 yards in diameter enclosed by solid walls and by steps leading down to the water."

Bhoja sent money to one Padmarāja who had the wall built round the spring. It is a curious proof, if the tale is true, of the relations possible in those days between remotely distant places.

Bhoja's family:—The Prabandhakāras mention several wives and sons, but tell us nothing very important about them. Jayasinha, his successor, was most probably his son, but Udayāditya is only called his relation (*bandhu*).

Conclusion:—Bhojadeva, even when all allowance is made for flattery and gross exaggeration, was undoubtedly a man of talent and strong individuality. Mr. Vincent Smith remarks: "He reigned gloriously for more than forty years. Like his uncle he cultivated with equal assiduity the arts of peace and war. Although his fights with neighbouring powers, including one of the Muhammadan armies of Mahmūd of Ghaznī are forgotten, his fame as an enlightened patron of learning and a skilled author remains undimmed, and his name has become proverbial as that of a model king according to the Hindu standard. Works on Astronomy, Architecture, the Art of Poetry and other subjects are credibly attributed to him, and there is no doubt that he was a prince like Samudra Gupta of very uncommon ability.[5]"

In the words of the Udepur inscription, *He accomplished, ordered, gave, and knew what (was) not in the power of any body else; what other praise can be given to the illustrious Bhoja, the poet king*! (V. 18).

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[1] The necessity for the exploration of old Ujjain is getting every year more urgent as the rains and the Siprā are rapidly eating into the site of the ancient city. In the modern town also many old Hindu remains have been utilised in building, and careful search might still disclose treasures.

[2] See Bhopāl State Gazetteer pages 95 and 96.

[3] Stein-*Rājataraṅgiṇi* vii, 190.

[4] This is not an uncommon practice for devout Hindus.

[5] *The Early History of India*, 317.

X.—Jayasinha I, 1055-59.

Bhoja was succeeded by Jayasinha, who is styled in inscriptions *Mahārājādhirāja*. The *Udepur* and *Nāgpur Prashastis* omit his name, as do also Arjuna Varman's grants, the grant of Devapāla of V.S. 1282, and Jaya Varman's grant of V.S. 1317. In all these Udayāditya follows Bhoja.[1]

So far as his history can be traced, Jayasinha ruled at Dhār for a few years. Only one record, however, mentions him, and that is his own land grant issued from Dhār in V.S. 1112 or 1055.[2] By it the village of Bhīma in the Maktulā group of villages in the Purnapathaka (now Punāsā) Mandala, is made over to the Brāhmans of the Pattasāla at Amareshvara[3] or Amaleshvar, for their support.

Jayasinha's reign was certainly not a long one, or of any great importance, while it was overshadowed by that of his successor Udayāditya. At Bhoja's death Mālwā was in a state of turmoil, Dhār being in the hands of the Chedi king Karnadeva, and Jayasinha no doubt a fugitive in the Vindhyas, or else an acknowledged feudatory of the Chedi king. The last supposition seems the most probable as we are told by tradition that Jayasinha was installed at Dhār by Karnadeva and Bhīmadeva of Gujarāt. Bhīma is also said to have left Dāmodar, the well known Gujarāt diplomatist, at the Paramāra court, and that he was all powerful, the king of Mālwa being a mere puppet. This would amply account for his reign being passed over in silence by Paramāra chroniclers.

Jayasinha gave his sister in marriage to the Chālukya king Jayasinha of the Karnātak, and assigned as her dowry some of his possessions south of the Narmadā. This king himself married a daughter of the Chedi king. He is traditionally credited with building a palace at Dhār called Kailāsa which was a home for wandering Sādhūs. His reign ended about 1059, as we have a date for his successor in V.S. 1116.

XI.—Udāyāditya, 1059-81.

The *Udepur Prashasti* says that at Bhoja's death "Dhārā was filled with a dense darkness by his foes and his hereditary warrior became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayāditya, another sun as it were, destroying the dense darkness.....and gladdening the sight of his people by his splendour" (v. 21). In the Nāgpur inscription we have "when he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relative Udayāditya became king delivering the

[1] Ep. Ind. ix, 103, 117. I. A. xix, 346-7.

[2] K.NI. 67, Ep: Ind., iii., 46.

[3] Amareshvara is one of the tirths at Māndhātā on the Narmadā, and one of the twelve *jyoti-lingas* of India (See Wilson, *Essays on Hindu Religion* i 223). The shrine became overgrown with jungle during the disturbances of the Marāthā period, in the 17th and 18th century. The Peshwā tried in vain to find its site. A new shrine was, therefore, built, but on the discovery, later on, of the original *lingam*, a shrine was erected over it. The honour has, however, all passed to the new temple.

[4] K-NI, 68, J. A. O. S, vii, 35.

earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna .....joined by the Karnātas." (v. 32).

Merutunga in his *Prabandha Chintāmani* confirms this fact, stating that at Bhoja's death Karna and Bhimadeva of Gujarāt were allies. The friendship and alliance between these two did not last long as the same author tells us that Bhima, not long after, threatened Karna who came to terms and presented Bhimadeva with a golden litter which he had taken from Bhoja.[1]

The Karnāta mentioned as an ally of Karna would appear to be the Hoysal Yādava prince Ereyanga. A record of this house states that Ereyanga in a conquest of the north, took Dhārā the stronghold of the Lords of Mālwā, which had been made prosperous by king Bhoja.[2]

The fame of Udayāditya as delivering Dhār, and Mālwā generally from a foreign yoke has given him a position of exaggerated importance. In his deliverance of Dhār this king was assisted by the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. of Kalyān. In the *Vikramānka-devacharita* of Bilhana, Vikramāditya is said to have lent his assistance to the Mālwā king, while his father Someshvara (1040-69) was still ruling.

He (Vikramāditya) placed the suppliant king (of Dhār) on his throne, free of all fear from enemies[3].

This shews that the ancient feud that existed between the rulers of Dhār and Kalyān was then in abeyance.

Udayāditya appears to have had the hereditary fondness for literature and art, and to have brought up his sons as scholars, and his second son Naravarman is believed to have been the author of more than one *Prashasti.*

While Jayasinha is said to have been a son, Udayāditya is only spoken of as a relation of Bhoja, but the exact relationship is never given.

It may thus be surmised that the direct line ended with Jayasinha, Udayāditya starting a collateral branch as holders of the throne.

Udayāditya had three sons Lakshmadeva, Naravarman, and Jagadev, and one daughter. The two elder sons in turn succeeded their father while the daughter, Shyāmalādevī, was married to the Gohi prince Vijayasinha and became the mother of Alhanadevi afterwards wife of the Chedi king Gayakarnadeva.[4]

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[1] *Rās Mālā*, i, 83, 90. It should be noted that the *Vadnagar Prashasti* of the Gujarāt king Kumārapāla (Ep: Ind. i, 296) mentions a victory gained by Bhima over Dhār in verse 9. It is not certain, however, if this particular occasion is referred to. The *Kirtikaumudī* and *Sukritasamkīrtana* also mention an attack and defeat of Bhoja. Hemachandra curiously enough does not refer to it.

[2] Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt. 2,493, K-SI. I,388 P. S. O. C. 1., 18, Mysore inscriptions, No. 146, p. 260. Perhaps the defeat of a king of Dhār and the capture of Chakrakota referred to in records for Southern India, belong to this reign K-SI. 388, 409, 756, *see* p 53.

[3] *Vikram* canto, iii, 67, Introduction, 81.

[4] Ep : Ind., ii, 7. I. A., xvi, 348; xviii 217.

The town of Udepur (in Gwalior) where the Prashasti was discovered, is always supposed to have been founded by this king. The fine Shaivite temple built there by this king is full of Paramāra records, two of which deal with this king's reign. From them it appears that the temple was begun in 1059 A. D. and completed in 1080 A. D. Of the exact length of this reign we know nothing, nor are we in possession of information as to the actual date of the recovery of Dhār. The two records mentioned, however, give us a certain limit. The first states that Udayāditya was ruling in *Shaka* 981 or 1059 A.D., and we may safely put 1060 as the first year of his rule, since Jayasinha's grant falls in 1056 A.D. The second record gives a date V.S. 1137 or 1081 A.D., but there is no reason why his rule should not have lasted another ten years at least. This would shorten Lakshmadeva's reign and thus account for the neglect which it receives at the hands of the chroniclers[1]. The half finished Shaivite temple at Bhojpura may belong to this king, if not to Bhojadeva.

XII.—Lakshmadeva, 1081-1104.

Udayāditya was succeeded by his eldest son Lakshmadeva. This king's name does not appear in any of the copper plate grants of the later Paramāras hitherto found, but the *Nāgpur Prashasti* gives a long description of him in verses 35 to the end. The account is full of poetical exaggerations, in part, perhaps, the outcome of brotherly pride, as the inscription was the work of Naravarmadeva. He is credited with many warlike exploits, including expeditions into Gaur or Bengal, Chedi and Ceylon, and with having defeated the rulers of Anga, Chola, Pāndya, Turushka, princes on the Ganges, and the Kera, and princes dwelling near the Sarasvatī river. Of all these exploits only those against the Chedis and Turushkas or Muhammadans are at all likely to be true, but we have no further information on the subject.

XIII.—Naravarmadeva, 1104-33.

Lakshmadeva appears to have died childless and was succeeded by his brother Naravarmadeva. This event must have taken place about 1104-5, the year in which the *Nāgpur Prashasti* is dated but it may have occurred earlier.

This inscription was in all probability written by Naravarman himself[2]. This view is supported by verse 55 which states:

And he (Naravarman) has ordered the illustrious Lakshmidhara to construct this temple which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by himself.

The date V.S. 1161 or 1104-5 A.D. is also given.

A fragment of an inscription was found in the Mahākāl temple at Ujjain which seems to be also his composition[3].

In the Bhoja-shālā at Dhār a grammatical table is cut on one of the pillars, in serpentine shape, another, occurring at Un, in each case accompanied by verses[4].

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[1] J. A. B. ix, 549; J. A. O. S., vii, 35, K.-NI., 70. I. A., xx, 83, Ep: Ind. iii, 46.
[2] K.-NI., 792. Ep: Ind., ii, 180.
[3] Not yet published.
[4] J. B. R. A. S. xxi, 350.

(*i*) *The one sword of kings Udayāditya and Naravarman, worshippers of Shiva, was (ever) ready for the protection of the four castes, and the alphabet (varnas).*

(*ii*) *The serpentine alphabetical sword of king Udayāditya is placed as a badge on the breasts of poets and kings.*[1]

The first and second verse are at Dhār, the second only in a precisely similar inscription on a wall at Un, possibly composed by Naravarman himself, while both these couplets together with a third are engraved in the fragment of an inscription found at Ujjain in the Mahākāl temple. The third couplet runs :

उदयादित्य नामाङ्क वर्ण्ण नागकृपाणिका
.....मणि श्रेणी सृष्टा सुकविबन्धुना

The epithet *Sukavi bandhu*, no doubt, refers to Naravarman. The existence of the same serpentine table in three places is curious and in all probability had some special signification. It would be interesting to see if it occurs in other places connected with the Paramāras.

Of the third brother, Jagadev, we are told a long romantic story by Merutunga[2]. He was a knight errant who served chiefly under Jayasinha Siddharāja, the Gujarāt king, being one of that ruler's most competent generals.

On one occasion he offered his head to the goddess Kālī.[3] A well known bardic couplet gives a date for this event.

Samvat gyāra sau ekāvana Chait Sudī rabiwār.
Jagadeva sīs samapiye Dhārānagar Pawār.

In Samvat eleven hundred and fifty-one, on a Sunday in the light half of Chaitra, Jagadeva, the Paramāra of Dhār, devoted his head to Kālī.

In his commentary on the *Amarushataka* Arjunavarman refers to Jagadev.

The verse above gives a date in 1094 A.D. At Dhār in an old temple of Durgā a face from a stone image (evidently that of a Jain Tirthankar) is shewn as the head of Jagadev, in order to keep this tradition alive in the memory of credulous worshippers. Tradition states also that when Naravarman ascended the throne, Jagadev came to visit him at Dhār, and later on led an expedition for him against the Chālukyas of Kalyān, sending the head of the Chālukya king as a present to Naravarman. Jagadev's end is not recorded.

Naravarman is credited with victories in Gaur, and Gujarāt, while he is said to have resembled Bhoja in piety and generosity.

In the inscription at Dhār and the fragment from Ujjain, Udayāditya and Naravarman are described as *Maheshsvāminau, i.e.*, devotees of *Mahesha* (Mahādev). Like Bhoja Naravarman was fond of learned disputation, and a famous contest is said to have been held in the Mahākāl temple at Ujjain in which the Jain Muni Ratna Sūri

[1] J. B. R. A. S., xxi, 351.
[2] K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, i, Chap., viii.
[3] Ibid. i, 150.

disputed with a Shaivite teacher, Vidyā Shiva Vādi. Another dispute is mentioned in the *Prashasti* to Ratna Sūri's life of Amama svāmin written in V.S. 1190, or 1134 A.D. In this contest Samudra Ghosha is referred to as being at the Paramāra court.

(१) यो मालवोपात्त विशिष्टतर्कैः । विद्यानवद्योपशमप्रधानः ।
विद्वज्जनालिश्रितपादपद्मः । केषां न विद्यागुरुतामदत्त ॥ ८ ॥

(२) धारायां नरवर्म्मदेवनृपतिम् श्रीगोद्रवक्ष्मापतिम् ।
श्रीमल्लिल्लदुपतिं च गुर्ज्जरपुरे विद्वज्जने साक्षिणि ।
स्वैर्यैरंजयतिस्म सद्गुणगणैर्विद्यानवद्याशयो ।
लब्धीः प्राक्तन गौतमादिगणभृत्संवादिनीर्धारयन् ॥ ९ ॥

(*i*) *Who (Samudra-ghosha) had made a special study of logic in Mālavā, and possessed the praise-worthy self-denial which knowledge gives; whose lotus feet were bowed to by the learned, and who gave proficiency in learning to all his pupils.*

(*ii*) *Who possessed qualifications similar to those of the ancient Gana-bhrits, like Gautama, who possessed pure thoughts derived from learning and who by his numerous merits pleased king Naravarman at Dhārā, the king of Gohrad (Gohad) [at his capital] and King Siddharāja at his chief town (Anhilwāra) in the presence of the learned.*

The first verse shews that Mālwā was a noted seat of learning, a fact which is corroborated in a verse on Sūraprabha Sūri, a pupil of Samudra Ghosha and the teacher of Ratna Sūri.

मुख्यस्तदीय शिष्येषु कवीन्द्रेषु बुधेषु च ।
सूरिः सूरप्रभः श्रीमानवंतीख्यातसद्गुणः ॥

The chief among his pupils who were learned and remarkable as masters of poetry, was the brilliant scholar Sūraprabha, who had become famous at Avantī (Ujjain) through his talents.[1]

In a *Prashasti* appended to the *Jayanta-kāvya* of Abhayadeva, a Jain Sūri, dated in V.S. 1278 or 1222 A.D. Jina Vallabha Sūri is mentioned at whose feet Naravarman is said to have bowed. The date of this Sūri is given as V.S. 1157 or 1100 A.D.[2]

This work shews that Naravarman paid great respect to Jain scholars and teachers. The Jain Prabandhakāras also narrate numerous tales of this king, but they are confused and worthless, although they prove that he was held in respect by them and appears to have been on good terms with members of this creed He was, however, in spite of his tolerance a strict Shaivite.

Naravarman married Momalādevi, a Chedi princess and had a son by her called Yashovarman.[3]

The conclusion of this reign may be put in V.S. 1190 or 1133-4, as we have a grant of Yashovarman's dated in this year, which was issued on the first anniversary *Shrāddha* of Naravarman.[4]

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[1] P.R. 1884, p. 39. Text No. 257, p. 95 verses 8, 9.
[2] *History of Jainism in Gujarāt*, Pt I, 38.
[3] I.A. xix, 349.
[4] See next reign.

XIV.—Yashovarmadeva, 1133-42.

Succeeding his father in 1133-4 Yashovarman had a troubled reign, in which all the prestege restored by the vigorous rule of Udayāditya passed away. The Gujarāt king Jayasinha Siddharāja (1093-1143) who was extending his dominions in all directions did not spare the Mālwā king's territory, the more so, as, according to the *Prabandha Chintāmani*,[1] Yashovarman raided Gujarāt, while Jayasinha and his mother were away making a pilgrimage to Someshvara. Siddharāja's minister Santu, who held charge of the country, asked Yashovarman on what terms he would consent to retire, on which the Mālwā king replied : " Only if he will give up to me the merit he has acquired by his pilgrimage : " Santu washed his feet and taking water in his hand surrendered the virtue acquired by Jayasinha to Yashovarman. On returning, Jayasinha asked why he had done this, on which Santu replied : " If you think giving Yashovarman your merit has any real importance, I restore you your merit." The whole story is evidently a Jain attempt to throw ridicule on the Hindu doctrine of the transference of merit. Siddharāja, however, in revenge for the raid determined to attack Mālwā. The Gujarāt Prabandhakāras give the victory to their king, but the Mālwā bards state that it was equally disastrous to both sides, and there can be little doubt it was a Cadmean victory.

Yashovarman later on attacked Jayasinha when he was engaged in building the famous *Sahasra-lingam* lake, and other religious works. Abandoning these, Jayasinha at once marched on Mālwā, and encamped at Ujjain. After ineffectual attempts on both sides to decide the contest, Jayasinha at last heard that it would be feasible to force the three southernmost gates of Dhār by using the royal elephant Yashahpataha. The attempt was successful and Yashovarman and one of his sons, a *Mahākumāra*, were defeated, the latter being killed by Mausal, a nephew of the Gujarāt king. Yashovarman and his family were made prisoners and taken to Anhilwāra, while the kingdom was annexed to Gujarāt, a Jain minister Jinachandra being appointed Dandpati or viceroy of Mālwā[2]. The Bhīl tribes which tried to block the retreat of the Gujarāt army were defeated by Santu. An inscription of Jayasinha's at Dohad seems to allude to this conquest[3]. It states that in his frontier wars Jayasinha threw into prison the lords of

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[1] *Rās Māla*, i, Chap., x.

[2] The *Dvaiyāshraya* gives a vivid account of this campaign (see I. A., iv, 113.) The writer in the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. i, 173) takes it that this victory was won over Naravarman and not Yashovarman, a view supported by the *Kirtikaumudi* (II., 32). The crushing nature of the defeat, however, points to its being that inflicted on this king. Merutunga in his *Siddharāja Prabandha*, moreover, distinctly states that Yashovarman was the king defeated, which appears far more probable as Naravarman never suffered such a severe blow so far as we know.

[3] K.-NI. 116. I. A., x, 159: Ep. Ind., i, 259.

Surāshtra and Mālwā. Someshvara in his *Surathotsava* (Canto xv, 22), says:

नीतः स्फीतबलोऽपि मालवपतिः कारांचरारान्वितः

The lord of Mālwā, in spite of his great power, was imprisoned together with his family by Siddharāja.

Tradition has it that the war lasted twelve years. This probably refers to a continuous series of feuds starting in Naravarman's reign and terminating in that of Yashovarman. Jayasinha, we are told, swore to make a scabbard for his sword from the Mālwā king's skin, but being dissuaded by his minister only took a small piece of skin from Yashovarman's heel. The Mālwā king is traditionally said to have been kept in a wooden cage at the Gujarāt king's capital and subjected to great indignities, Jayasinha refusing all offers of ransom. Jayasinha after this event adopted the *biruda* of *Avantināth* or Lord of Ujjain used in some land grants.

The victory of Jayasinha was attributed to his magical powers, which Yashovarman tried to oppose with charms, a fact alluded to in the *Surathotsava*.

धाराधीश पुरोधसा निज नृप क्षोणीं विलोक्याखिलां ।
चौलुक्या कुलितां तदत्यय कृते कृत्या किलोत्पादिता ॥
मन्त्रैर्यस्य तपस्यतः प्रतिहता तत्रैव तं मान्त्रिकं ।
सासंहृत्य तडिल्लता तरुमिव क्षिप्रं प्रयाता क्वचित् ॥ [1]

The priest of the king of Dhārā perceiving that the whole kingdom of his master was harassed by the Chaulukyas conjured by his incantations a spirit (krityā) *in order to put an end to the trouble, but the counter-charms of the Chaulukya priest (Ama) drove this spirit back upon its conjuror, who was struck down by it as a tree is felled by a thunderbolt.*

The conquest of Mālwā opened the road to the Chandel kingdom of Jejakabhukti or Jajhoti, now Bundelkhand, and Jayasinha is said to have marched from Dhār upon Madanavarman (1129-1167) the Chandella ruler of that day. Jayasinha filled with arrogance even attempted to introduce a new era.

At length Yashovarman contrived to escape and with the assistance of the Chauhān king of Ajmer, regained a part of his possessions and came to terms with Jayasinha. Jayasinha died in V.S. 1199 or 1142 A.D.[2] and Yashovarman did not long survive him. Only two records of Yashovarman are known. One is dated in V.S. 1191 or 1133-34 A.D., which grants two villages to a Brāhman, the grant being confirmed eleven years later in V.S. 1200 or 1144 A.D. by *Mahākumāra* Lakshmivarman.[3] The other is dated in V.S. 1192 or 1134 A.D. It grants the village of Laghuva-inganapadra and part of Thikarikā in exchange for land given on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of Momalādevī, apparently his mother. The *dūtaka* or

[1] *Surathotsava*. p 8. verse 20. B. R. 1883-4. 20, 338, Bomb: Gaz: Vol 1. Pt. i, 179.

[2] I.A. vi, 213.

[3] K-N.I. 110 and 121, H. T. Colebrooke, *Essays*, ii, 299. I.A., xix, 348, 351.

causers of this gift were the Purohita Thākur Srī Vāmanasvāmin, and Thākur Purushottama and the Mahāpradhāna or prime-minister, Rājputra Srī Devadhara. The village of Laghuva-inganapadra is Regwā, a few miles east of Thikri in Dhār State, the Thikarikā of the grant (22° 4′ N, 75° 27′ E).

The Interregnum, 1142-55.

We now come to a period in which the hold of the Paramāra line over Mālwā was for a time in abeyance. From 1143 to 1179 or 1180 Mālwā was again a dependency of Gujarāt, and no record of the Paramāras is known falling between these dates.

After Yashovarman's death a person named Ballāladeva seems to have assumed the title of "Lord of Mālwā." The name of this chief does not appear in any genealogies of the later Paramāras, nor have we any clue regarding the clan to which he belonged.

On Jayasinha's death a struggle for the Gujarāt throne arose. The famous Kumārapāla (1143-73), a descendant of Bhīmadeva, finally succeeded in establishing his claims.[1] His relatives at once commenced to oppose him and formed a party against him, which was joined by Ballāladeva of Mālwā, and Vikramasinha, the Paramāra ruler of Chandrāvati near Abu.[2] Arnorāja, the Chauhān king of Sāmbhar, headed this league. In the conflict which ensued, the league was defeated, Vikramasinha being disgraced and his possessions made over to his nephew Yashodhavala, who had sided with Kumārapāla. Ballāladeva after a life of wandering was captured and executed by Yashodhavala and Mālwā was once more annexed to Gujarāt[3].

The death of Ballāladeva is confirmed in more than one record. The *Vadnagar Prashasti* of Kumārapāla not only refers in verse 15 to a victory but adds that the defeated king's head was suspended at the gate of Kumārapāla's palace[4]. This appears to be Ballāladeva's. As Kumārapāla succeeded in November 1143 and the *Vadnagar Prashasti*[5] is dated in September 1151, these events must have fallen between these dates. The *Kirtikaumudī* says: Kumārapāla[6] defeated kings Ballāladeva and Mallikārjuna of Mālwā and the Deccan, respectively, a fact also alluded to in the Somanāth record of 1169 A.D. This is confirmed by the Chaulukya inscriptions discovered in the Udepur temple. The two earliest date in the time of Kumārapāla, in V. S.

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[1] Merutunga places his coronation on *Mrigashirsha, Sudi 4th* V.S. 1199.

[2] Bombay Gaz., *Gujarāt*, 181-194. *Rās Mālā*, i, 180-204.

[3] Abu records, Ep. Ind., viii, 200.

[4] K-N.I., 210. Ep. Ind., viii, 200 K.-N.I., 503, Wiener Zeitschrift iii, 7. Ep. Indi. 153. *Kirtikaumudi*, Intro : *Kumārapāla charita*, B. R., 1883-4., 6. *Dvayāshraya* of Hemachandra. I.A., ii, 113.

[5] K-N I., 130. Ep. Ind., i, 296.

[6] *Kirtikaumudi*, xii.

1220 and 1222 or 1163 and 1166 A.D., the third is dated in Ajayapāla's reign in V.S. 1229 or 1173 A.D. Kumārapāla is actually called *Avantināth* as Jayasinha had been. Mālwā continued in the hands of the Gujarāt kings during the early years of Ajayapāla. Tradition asserts that the decayed town of Un in the Khargon *pargana* of the Indore State was built by Ballāladeva. On a Shaivite temple there moreover, two fragmentary inscriptions in Sanskrit appear to bear Ballāladeva's name. Was this personage the author of the *Bhoja Prabandha?* Laudatory verses on Ballāladeva, the author of this work, are met with in anthologies. If this Ballāladeva and the author are one and the same person, it would point to his being a Paramāra with the hereditary love of learning[2].

XV.—Jayavarman, 1142-1160.

Jayavarman succeeded (his father), but, the main part of his possessions being in the hands of the Gujarāt Chaulukyas, he was king in little more than name, and must have been a fugitive in the Vindhyas. The bards relate stories of his having defeated Kumārapāla, but these are mere fictions as the land grants of Ajayapāla prove that the Gujarāt king held most of Mālwā as late as 1172 and 1175 A.D[3].

Jayavarman seems, moreover to have been a weak ruler, and dissensions soon arose in his own family, resulting in the establishment of two lines ruling simultaneously. What was Jayavarman's actual end we do not know, but he appears to have been deposed.

Period of dual rule, 1144-1216.

The means at our disposal for unravelling the events of this period are most meagre.

Eight records dealing with these later kings are known to us. Up to Yashovarman, the succession is clear; but from this time on, from the succession of Jayavarman, the confusion commences. It is to be surmised that Yashovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Lakshmivarman and Ajayavarman. Jayavarman, as we have seen succeeded his father in due course in about 1142. In 1144, however, family feuds arose and Jayavarman, who was a weak ruler apparently, and made no attempt to throw off the yoke of Gujarāt, was deposed by Ajayavarman, who with his successors continued one line (B), while Lakshmivarman resenting this act of Ajayavarman's, seized some territory and upheld the claims of Jayavarman, starting another line (A). In grants of this (A) line, Jayavarman is always mentioned as a predecessor.

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[1] K-NI., 143, 145, 160. I.A., xviii, 341.

[2] *See* A.C., i, 368, 418, where a different view is taken.

[3] Three records refer to the governorship of the district round Bhilsā and along the banks of the Narmadā. See, I.A., xviii, 80, 347.

[4] I.A., xix, 345 ff., J. A. O. S., vii. 24.

The two lines fall thus:

IX—Bhoja I.
X—Jayasinha I.
XI—Udayāditya.
XII—Lakshmadeva.
XIII—Naravarman.
XIV—Yashovarman.

(A)	(B)
XV—Jayavarman.	15—Ajayavarman.
XVI—Lakshmivarman.	16—Vindhyavarman.
XVII—Harischandra.	17—Subhatavarman.
XVIII—Udayavarman.	18—Arjunavarman.

XIX—Devapāladeva.
(son of Harischandradeva).

This appears to be the correct explanation as we have grants issued by both branches.

Next in chronological order after the grant of Yashovarman, mentioned above as issuing in 1135 A.D., comes a grant by Jayavarman, of which the date is missing, but it falls between V.S. 1199 and 1200 and may be put in 1142-3. This is followed by a grant[1] issued by Lakshmivarmadeva in V. S. 1200 or 1144 A.D., confirming a grant made by Yashovarman. This gives us a date for Lakshmivarman's taking up the cause of Jayavarman and for the deposition of that king.[2]

In this grant Lakshmivarmadeva is careful to call himself *Mahākumāra* and not *Mahārājādhirāja*, which points to Jayavarman being still alive, but incapacitated from ruling, possibly a prisoner in the hands of Ajayavarman.

Three more grants of line (A) are known, issued by *Mahākumāra* Harischandra, son of Lakshmivarmadeva, in V.S.1235 or 1178 A.D., and 1236 or 1179 A.D.; and one by Udayavarman, son of Harischandra in V.S. 1256 or 1200 A.D[3]. With Udayavarman this dual rule ends. In the last grant[4] mentioned it is specifically stated that Lakshmivarmadeva "obtained sovereignty of his own by favour of the sword, which he had in his hand, when the rule of the illustrious Jayavarman passed away". Harischandra says that he "obtained sovereignty by favour of the illustrious Jayavarman." The claim of line (A) is thus always based on the rights of Jayavarman, who was, no doubt, still alive when the feud commenced.

It should be noticed that Yashovarman's grant issues from Thikrī in the Narmadā valley, Jayavarman's from Vardhamānpura, most probably Barwānī; Lakshmivarmadeva's from Rājasayana, now

[1] K-N.I., 341, I.A., xix, 350.
[2] K-N.I., 121, I.A., xix, 352.
[3] K-N.I., 172, J.B.A., vii, 736.
[4] K-N.I., 139, I.A., xvi, 252.

Raisen in Bhopāl State, Harischandra's were found at Piplianagar in Bhopāl just north of the Narmadā ; and Udayavarman's issued from Ginnaura or Ginnūrgarh (Ginnorgarh), a fortress in Bhopāl State on the north side of the same river.

This points to the (A) line having acquired the districts between Bhilsā and the Narmadā, while the (B) line held the country round Dhār.

Kings of the (B) Line.

15[1]—*Ajayavarman*, 1144-60.

The rulers of this branch were more important than those of the (A) line, during the period of dual rule.

Of Ajayavarman we know nothing more than has been already mentioned. He ousted Jayavarman from the throne, and started a new line of kings, who, as we have seen, disputed the hold of such lands in Mālwā as the Paramāras still owned, with Lakshmivarman and his successors. This line (B) appears to have held round Dhār.

16—*Vindhyavarmadeva*, 1160-80.

This king was the son of Ajayavarman. In Arjunavarman's land grant of 1215 A.D., he is described as a great warrior (*vīrmurdhanya*) who was determined to throw off the yoke of Gujarāt. It should be noted that the hold of the Gujarāt rulers in Mālwā relaxed rapidly after the death of the Chaulukya Ajayapāla in 1177 A.D., and thus gave the Paramāras a chance of regaining some of their lands. They never, however, recovered more than a fraction of their old possessions, and indeed remained from the time of Yashovarman's defeat onwards only petty chieftains.

In his *Surathotsava*, Someshvara refers to the war between Vindhyavarman and Gujarāt, in which he relates how the Chaulukya general put the Paramāra forces to flight, and destroyed the town of Gogasthāna, sinking a well on the site of the Paramāra's palace[2].

This king seems to have had the hereditary appreciation of literature and learning. His minister named Bilhana[3] was also minister to Arjunavarman and Devapāla. In an inscription of Vindhyavarman (unpublished) discovered at Māndu, Bilhana is described as:

विन्ध्यवर्मनृपतेः प्रसादभूः । सांधिविग्रहिक बिल्हणः कविः ।

The poetical Bilhana was favourite minister of peace and war to King Vindhyavarman.

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[1] Arabic figures are used to distinguish rulers of this line, from the more regular successors of Yashovarman.

[2] *Surathotsava*, 5, verse 86, B. R. 1883-4, 21, (Text) 340.

[3] Not of course the Kāshmirian poet who flourished from about 1070-90, and became chief Pandit to Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya. See G. Bühler, *Kashmir Report*, J. B. R. A. S., 1877, Vol xli, and *Vikramānkadevacharita*. 28. I. A., v, 317; xx, 278. Ep : In: ix, 107.

Āshādhara describes him in identical terms in his *Dharmāmrita*[1].

Vindhyavarman's reign was troubled. In 1192 Prithvi Raj, the Chauhān king of Delhi, was defeated by Muiz-ud-din, and the sovereignty of Northern India passed to the Muhammadans. The result of this invasion was to drive Hindus of learning to courts of Hindu rulers. Among others Āshādhara of the Vyāghreravāla family, a native of Sapādalaksha[2] came to Dhār, where he studied philosophy and the Jain scriptures, and wrote several works. He became a friend of Bilhana, whom he terms Kavishvar. He lived while prosecuting his studies at a temple of Nemanāth at Nālchhā (Nalakachchhapura). Āshādhara supplies two important dates, one in the time of Devapāla, and the other in that of Jayatugideva (See below). His known works are the *Trishashtismriti* (V. S. 1292), the *Bhavyakumudachandrikā*, *Jinayajnakalpa* (V.S. 1300), and the *Dharmāmrita*[3].

17—*Subhatavarmadeva*, 1180-1210.

This king was a son of the last. He is said in Arjunavarman's grant to have ruled justly and destroyed the Gurjara power then in the hands of Bhīmadeva II of Anhilwāra (1178-1242)[4]. The *Kīrtikaumudī*, however, says that the Mālwā king was driven back by Lavanaprasāda, while Merutunga states that he retired on being sent the following epigram:—

Rāja Mārtand, who gives splendour to the lineage of the sun is brilliant only in the east of Mālwā; when the same sun approaches the west (Gujarāt) his splendour finds extinction.

Subhatavarman seems to have been allied in his attack on Gujarāt with the Yādava king Singhana of Devagiri (1209-47), or may have been acting as a feudatory of Singhana, who is said to have humbled the ruler of Mālwā[5]. This fact and the date of Arjunavarman's grant would place the attack between 1209 and 1211. Subhatavarman's death must have followed close on this expedition.

18—*Arjunavarmadeva*, 1210-16.

Subhatavarman was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman in about 1210 A. D. Three land grants of this ruler are known to us. The earliest is dated in V.S. 1267 or 1211 A. D[6]. It was issued from Mandapadurga or Māndu. The second dated in V.S. 1270 or 1213 A.D. issued from Brigukachha or Broach, during a solar eclipse.[7] The third was made in V.S. 1272 or 1215 A. D., at Amareshvara, close to the confluence of the Kapilā and Narmadā[8].

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[1] B. R. 1883-4, 103, 391.

[2] This is the region near Sāmbhar in Rājputāna. *See* Kumārapāla's Chitor Record in which he is said to have defeated the Shākambhari chief and devastated this region. Ep: Ind: ii, 42. B. R. 1883-4, 20.

[3] B.R., 1883-4, 103.

[4] J.A.O.S. vii, 25, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol, i, Pt. ii, 198. *Rās Māla*, i, 208.

[5] A.S.W.I., iii, 90, Bombay Gazetteer. Vol. i. Pt. ii. 240.

[6] K-N. I. 195, J.A.B., v, 378.

[7] K-N. I. 197, J.A.O.S., vii, 32.

[8] K-N. I. 198, J.A.O.S., vii, 25.

This gives Arjunavarman a reign of over six years. His grants were written by his *guru*, Madana. Arjunavarman is styled *Mahārājā*, and the genealogy runs, Bhoja, Udayāditya, Naravarman, Yashovarman, Ajayavarman, Vindhyavarman, Subhatavarman and Arjunavarman. He is stated to have defeated Jayasinha "in a skirmish, as in sport." This defeat is corroborated by a dramatic *Prashasti* of which the first two acts were found by Mr. Lele in 1903, engraved on a stone used to build the Kamāl-maulā mosque at Dhār. The inscription locates the victory at Parva-parvatā, no doubt, a hill between Mālwā and Gujarāt. The author was Bāla Sarasvati Madana, a Gaur Brāhman, who was a pupil of Āshādhara, and the king's *guru*[1]. The play is called the *Pārijātamanjarī* or *Vijayashrī*. It was, we are told, acted in the temple of Sarasvatī on the Vasantotsava or spring festival. Bhoja is said (v. 3) to have defeated Gāngeya, while the humbling of the Gurjara king by Arjunvarman is also mentioned. The story deals with the jealousy of Queen Sarvakalā, a Chālukya or Hoyasāla princess. The King's minister was called Nārāyan[2].

In this play Dhār is described as a large city containing 84 squares and magnificent temples, among which was that of the goddess Sarasvatī (afterwards converted into the Kamāl-maulā mosque) in which this play was found. There is good reason to believe that the characters in the play were drawn from living people[3].

The Jayasinha mentioned is either Bhimdeva II. of Gujarāt, or else refers to Jayantasinha, a Gujarāt nobleman, who was supreme at Anhilwāra at this time, and who may well have been in actual command of the attacking force, defeated by Arjuna[4].

Arjunavarman had the literary proclivities of his race. One of his works is known, the *Rasikasanjīvanī*, a commentary on the *Amarushataka*. Jalhana also quotes a verse of Arjunavarman[5].

XIX.—Devapāladeva, 1216-40.

Arjunavarman apparently died childless, and the succession passed back to the descendants of Lakshmivarmadeva, his grandson Devapāladeva becoming king. We have a grant of this king's dated in V.S. 1275[6] or 1218 A.D., and as Arjunavarman's latest was dated in 1215 A. D., we may put his accession in 1216. From Āshādhara we also obtain two dates. This writer completed *Trishashtismriti* in V.S. 1292 or 1235 A. D., as he states during the reign of Devapāla; while the commentary which he composed on his own work the *Dharmāmrita* was, he informs us, written in V.S. 1300 or 1244, during the rule of Jayatugideva. We can thus safely place the conclusion of this king's rule in about 1240 A. D.

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[1] A Bāla Sarasvati is mentioned as author of a *Prashasti* in I. A., xi, 102. See B. R., 1883-4, 104.

[2] For the *Vasantotsava*. See I. A., xxvi, 187.

[3] Ep. Ind., viii, 96.

[4] K-N.I., 205, I. A., vi, 196.

[5] A. C., i, 31, *Subhas*, 5.

[6] K-N.I., 203, I. A. xx. 131.

Four inscriptions relating to Devapāla are known, the earliest is the land grant of V.S. 1275 or 1218 mentioned above, the second an inscription at Udepur, that storehouse of Parmāra records, which is dated in V.S. 1286 or 1229[1], the third, also from Udepur, of V.S. 1286 or 1232[2] A. D., and the fourth, a grant lately found at Māndhātā dated in V.S. 1282 or 1225. This last is issued from Māhishmati, now Maheshwar in Indore State, and records the grant of the village of Satājunā, now Satājanā (22° 8′ N and 76° 3′ E) to thirty-two Brāhmans[3].

During the rule of this king the Muhammadans extended their excursions into the heart of Central India. Altamsh took Gwalior in A.H. 629, or 1232 A.D., and Bhilsā and Ujjain three years later.[4] At Ujjain, Altamsh destroyed the famous Mahākāl temple, and, it is said, carried off an image of Vikramāditya. No permanent occupation of Ujjain took place at this time. The feud between Mālwā and Gujarāt continued and the Paramāra chief of Chandrāvatī, Soma Singh, who is called a *Mahāmandaleshvara* or governor of a province under the Gujarāt kings, attacked Mālwā, but was defeated and made prisoner by Devapāla.

Devapāla is credited with building the great tank at Depālpur (Devapālapura) some 30 miles north of Indore. Devapāla was succeeded by Jayatugideva.

XX.—Jayatugideva or Jayasinha II.—1240-56.

Jayatugideva, a son of Devapāla, succeeded in about 1240 A.D. Of this king we know nothing. There is little doubt that his real power was small, the ever-increasing inroads of the Muhammadans constantly reducing the influence exercised by the Hindu chiefs.

A grant of this chief from Rāhatgarh is known in which he is called Jayasinhadeva. It is dated in V.S. 1312 or 1256 A.D[5].

Āshādhara mentions that he completed his commentary during the reign of this king in V.S. 1300 or 1244 A.D., at Nemanāth's temple at Nālchhā. Jayatugi is therein stated to rule over the countries of Avantī.

XXI.—Jayavarman II.—1256-61.

Jayavarman was a younger brother of the preceding ruler, and appears to have succeeded about V.S. 1313 or 1256 A.D. This date is obtained from the fragment of an inscribed stone found at Mori village in the Bhānpurā *zila* of Indore State in 1904[6].

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[1] K-NI., 207, I.A., xx, 83.

[2] K-NI., 214, xx, 83,

[3] Found by Mr. Lele. *See*. Ep. In., ix, 103.

[4] Maj. Raverty-*Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, 620, 621.

[5] K-NI., 233, I. A., xx, 81; B.R. 1883—4, 105. As to the reading of this king's name, *see* Ep. Ind. ix., 118.

[6] Found by Major Rāmprasād Dube, Gazetteer Officer, Indore State.

It states that on *Māgha Badi 1st Samvat* 1314 certain grants were made by Jayavarmadeva of which the details are missing. This gives us A.D. 1257 or 1256 as the date of his accession, since Jayatugideva's inscription is dated in 1256. Another grant issued by this king from Mandapadurga or Māndu was found at Māndhātā. It gives us two dates in V.S. 1317 corresponding to 7th November 1260 and 12th May 1261[1]. The king after bathing in the Narmadā at Amareshvara Kshetra near the confluence of the Kapilā and Narmadā on the southern side makes over the village of Vadauda of the Mahuar district. It bears the usual Paramāra seal of Garuda and a serpent. The minister of the day was Mālādhara; the writer of the grant Harshadeva, son of Indra Gavisha; the reviser, a scholar called Āmadeva, a pupil of the learned Pandit Goseka; and the engraver Kānhada. *Mahārāja Shrī* Ajayadeva (Jayavarman) is the issuer of the grant. The village of Vadauda is Barud near Barwāha and Mahuar, Mohār in Nimanpur.

XXII.—**Jayasinhadeva III**, 1261-80.

Jayasinhadeva III. seems to have succeeded the last king between V.S. 1317 and 1326 or 1261 and 1269 A.D. The later date is obtained from the Pathāri inscription of this king, but his relationship to the preceding ruler is not given[2].

In his day apparently (or possibly in that of one of his two immediate predecessors) Vishāladeva (1233-61), the Vāghela ruler of Anhilwāra marched on Dhār and sacked it. This is mentioned in an inscription of this king, but the name of the defeated Mālwā ruler is omitted[3]. Ganapati Vyāsa, a Gujarāti poet, is said to have written a poem on the fall of Dhar[4].

XXIII.—**Bhojadeva II**, 1280-1310.

There are no dates for the end of Jayasinha's reign, and it may have lasted longer than 1280.

According to the *Hammīr-mahākāvya*, a poem relating the exploits of Hamīra, a Chauhān, and last of his line to hold the great fort of Ranthambhor, Bhoja II. appears to have followed Jayasinha.

The fall of Prithvīrāj of Delhi in 1192 left the Chauhān clan without a leader. Ajmer, their stronghold, had fallen in the same year to the Muhammadan invader, who had placed it under the governorship of Prithvīrāj's son[5]. Most of the Chauhāns, however, refusing to acknowledge the foreign yoke retired to Ranthambhor under the leadership of Govindrāja, a grandson of Prithvīrāj. In 1291 Jalāl-ud-dīn Firuz Shāh attacked Ranthambhor but failed to take it[6].

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[1] Ep. Ind., ix, 117.
[2] K.N.I. 232 (no reference).
[3] I. A. vi, 191.
[4] K.-N.I. 233.
[5] E.M.H. ii, 215, 216.
[6] *Ibid*, 140, 540.

In 1301 it fell to Alā-ud-din, who according to the *Tārikh-i-Firus Shāhī*, slew Hamīr, the Chauhān, then holding the fort[1]. The "Mālwā king" is said to have been told to slay "Vāgbhat Chauhān," who, however, contrived to escape. Who this king of Mālwā was, it is not easy to determine, but it may have been Jayasinha III, which would account for the invasion of Mālwā by Hamīr a few years later. Hamīr was the grandson of Vāgbhat and succeeded in V.S. 1339 or 1283 A.D[2]. Eager to retrieve the fallen fortune of his house he made many expeditions against his neighbours and finally marched on Dhār; here the poet says: "the Paramāra king, Bhoja (II). who, like his famous namesake, was the friend of poets," was ruling. After defeating Bhoja the army marched on Ujjain, where the Chauhān prince paid his devotions at the shrine of Mahākāl. He traversed the city musing on the mighty Vikramāditya. He then travelled on to Chitrākūta (Chitor) and ravaged Medhapāta (Mewār), proceeding on to Abu. At Abu, although a worshipper of the Vedas, he paid his devotions at the Jain shrines on the hill, and was filled with wonder at the magnificence of the temples of Rishabhadeva and the eulogies in Vastupāla's fane. He also visited Achaleshwar, and receiving the submission of the Paramāra ruler of Abu, continued his march to Vardhamānpura which he plundered. This is briefly the narrative as related in the poem, and which in spite of many exaggerations bears on the face of it undoubted proofs that its tales are founded on facts. As Hamīr's dates fall between 1283 and 1300 A.D., Bhoja II was then ruling in Mālwā.

The verses mentioning Bhoja are these:

ततो मण्डलकृद्दुर्गात्करमादाय सत्वरं
ययौ धारां धरासारं वारां राशिर्महौजसां ॥ १७ ॥
परमारान्वय प्रौढो भोजो भोज इवापरः
तत्रभोजमिवानेन राज्ञा म्लानिमनीयत ॥ १८ ॥

Having exacted tribute from the fortress of Mandalakrit that ocean of prowess (Hammīra) went on to Dhār, the gem of the earth, and humbled the proud scion of the Paramāra race, Bhoja who resembled Bhojadeva. (Canto, IX, *v* 18, 19).

A Persian inscription over the tomb of Abdulla Shāh Changāl at Dhār says that a Rājā Bhoja was so influenced by the marvellous powers of this saint that he embraced the Musalmān faith[3]. This story of the conversion of Bhoja is also given in a small Urdu book called the *Guldaste-abar*. The conversion of Bhoja I. is out of the question, as the Muhammadans had at that time no footing in Central India sufficient to make a Hindu of Bhoja's strictness profess Islām for political reasons. With Bhoja II, on the other hand, such profession might have been a vital necessity at some time or other when the Muhammadans were scouring Mālwā. We know nothing of this king's end.

[1] E. M. H. iii, 75, 179.

[2] N.J. Kirtane—*Hammīramahākāvya*, (Bombay, 1879) edited with a summary This poem is in Sanskrit, and was written by a Jain writer Nayachandra Sūri. It relates the adventures of Hamira (1282-1308), last Chauhān ruler of Ranthambhor.

[3] JBRAS, xxi, 352.

We are told in an inscription of the Vāghelas that Sārangdeva (1274-96) of Anhilwāra defeated the allied Yādava and Mālwā kings. The Yādava king of the day was Rāmachandra (1271-1309).[1]

XXIV—Jayasinhadeva IV, 1310.

The last member of this line of whom we have any knowledge succeeded Bhoja II in about 1310, as we have an inscription at Udepur of one Jayasinghadeva which can scarcely be another person, dated in *Shrāvan Badī* 12, 1366,[2] or 1309 A.D.

With this king the flickering light of Paramāra sovereignty went out.

Mālwā was by now under Muhammadan control and numerous petty Hindu chieftains sprang into existence, owing allegiance to the Muhammadan governors. We are told of one Koka, Rājā of Mālwā, who opposed Ain-ul-mulk with 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot in A.H. 704 or 1304 A.D. He may have been a Paramāra. Ain-ul-mulk reduced the cities of Ujjain, Māndu, Dhār and Chanderī in Central India. From this time onwards the suzerainty of the Muhammdan rulers of India continued to dominate Mālwā.

A Guhila record of V.S. 1496 or 1439 A.D., mentions one Gogadeva, a Mālwā chief, who was defeated by Lakshmasinha.[3]

Conclusion.

Thus passed away the great Paramāra dynasty of Mālwā after some 500 years of rule, continued through twenty-five generations. Among the kings of this line the names of Munja and Bhoja I stand out pre-eminent, especially that of the latter whose name is as much a household word as that of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Their hereditary fondness for literature and learning, besides the usual kingly encouragement of architecture, and the arts in general, has raised the Paramāra name above the ordinary level.

Their literary works are known, and at Dhār and Māndu, the relics of their temples survive, while Udepur (in Gwalior) can shew one complete and magnificent monument of the work of their hands.

The dominions of this clan extended in the days of their greatest power from Bhilsā to the confines of Gujarāt, and from north of Mandasor to the Tapti in the south. This domain was divided into *Mandalas* or circles each under a *Mandaleshvar*[4]. The *Mandalas* were sub-divided into *Pratijāgaranakas* or *parganas*, which when large contained *Pathakas* or village groups, corresponding to the modern *Thānā* or *Tappā*. The village headman was the *pattakil* or *patel*.

The king was assisted by a minister of peace and war (*Sāndhi-vigrahika*) usually a Brāhman.

Up to the time of Sindhurāja, Ujjain was the official capital, but Bhoja seems to have transferred the seat of Government to his

[1] K-N.I., 244, Ep. Ind., i, 271.
[2] K-N.I., 253, I. A., xx, 84.
[3] K-N.I., 290. Bhāvnagar inscp: 114, *Prachminalekhamāla*, ii, 28.
[4] The present title of *Mandloi* so common in Mālwā is a corruption of this word.

favourite residence, Dhār, which in all inscriptions after his day is mentioned more often than Ujjain.

The king was styled *Parama Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameshvara*, Bhoja I. being often called *Dhāreshvara and Mālava-chakravarti.* The eldest son usually succeeded.

The usual seal of the Paramāras is a figure of Garuda and a cobra.[1] All the Paramāras were Shaivite Hindus as their records shew. They were, however, by nature extraordinarily tolerant of other forms of faith especially Jainism, a tolerance due mainly to their love of learning and interest in listening to disputations. Unlike the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt they were never converted to Jainism, and the Mahākāl of Ujjain and the Kālikā Devī of Dhār remained their tutelary deities to the last.

Their grants to Brāhmans were numerous as the known records prove, and probably many others will in time come to light.

Neighbours of the Paramāras.

The states surrounding the Paramāra dominions with which they had important relations were those of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt and the Vaghelas who followed them, the Chālukyas of the Deccan, the Chedis and the Chandellas.

Gujarāt:—After the fall of the Valabhi kingdom about the middle of the 8th century, the Chāvadā or Chaurā dynasty arose and founded the city of Anahillapattana or Anhilwāra, ruling Gujarāt for nearly two centuries (746-935). In 941 Mūlrāja, a Chaulukya (Solanki) Rājput seized Gujarāt from the Chaurās and started a dynasty which ruled until 1235, when the Vāghelas of Dholkā ousted the Chaulukyas and ruled Gujarāt, till they were in turn driven out by the Muhammadans in 1296. The Gujarāt kings were in constant feud with the Mālwā rulers.[2]

Chālukyas of the Deccan.—The great Rāshtrakūta kingdom of Mānyakheta (Mālkhed) near Kulburgā continued supreme in the Deccan from about 753 to 973. The Chālukyas who had preceded the Rāshtrakūtas had been very powerful even defeating Harshavardhana of Kanauja. They fell ultimately before the Rāshtrakūta king Danti-durga, the fourth ruler of this line, who is also said to have subdued the king of Mālwā[3] and given away much wealth in charity at Ujjain (about 753 A.D.). His successor Krishna I. (760-83) consolidated the Rāshtrakūta power. He carved the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. The 8th king was Govind II, who extended his dominions up to the Mālwā border. He seized Lāta (Broach) and made it over to his brother Indra, who founded a new branch of this clan. The 11th king Amogavarsha (971-72) founded Mānyakheta The 18th and 19th Khottiga and Karkadeva (972-82), were respectively defeated by Sīyaka (Harsha) of Mālwā and Tailapa II, the Chālukya.

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[1] A.S.W.I., iii, 10, 12. See figures Ep, Ind. iii.
[2] Bom. Gaz., Vol I, pt. I., *Gujarāt*. B. R. 1883-4, 10.
[3] A.S.W.I., No. 10. p. 92.

The line of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyān was then started by Tailapa and ruled till 1183. Tailāpa II. (973-997) killed Munja of Dhār, and the 6th Prince Someshvara II. (1069-76) drove Bhoja I from his kingdom. The 7th king Vikramāditya (1076-1127), however, assisted the Paramāras to regain their lands.[1]

The later Yādavas:—The Yādavas rose to eminence in the 12th century, at Devagiri or Daulatābād in the Deccan. The line ruled from 1187 to about 1318. Singhana (1210-47) joined Subhatavarman in an attack on Gujarāt, while Rāmchandra, the last powerful king of the line, was an ally of Bhoja II.

The Chedis:—The Chedis or Haihayas ruled at Tripuri, now Tewar near Jabalpur. Kokalla I. founded the dynasty in the ninth century. The Paramāras came into constant collision with this family. Yuvarāja, the 10th prince, (973-1000) was defeated by Munja; Gāngeyadeva (1038-42) the 12th, by Bhoja I; while Karnadeva (1042-1122) received a golden palanquin from the same king, but later on joined Bhīma I. of Gujarāt in driving Bhoja from Dhār. He was afterwards defeated by Udayāditya. Gayakarnadeva (1151-55), 15th prince married Alhanādevī a granddaughter of Udayāditya.

Chandella Kingdom.—The Chandellas of Jajhoti (Bundelkhand) rose to power in the ninth century. The Paramāras only occasionally came in contact with them. Bhoja I. is said to have worshipped Vidyādhara Chandella (1025-37) "full of fear like a pupil" and Yashovarman (925-955) is said to have been like "a god of death to the Mālavas," and Dhanga (955-1000) to have ruled to the border of Mālwā.[2]

Other States:—The only other peoples to be mentioned are Kāshmīr where Bhoja constructed the Pāpasūdana lake, and the Chāhumānas or Chauhāns of Sākambhari (Sāmbhar). In the latter case Bhoja I. is said to have killed Vīrya Rāma.[3]

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[1] Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt, ii, 382, ff; pt. i, 426.

[2] J.A.B., I, 1 Ep. Ind., i, 121, 217; ii, 232.

[3] Vienna, Oriental Journal, vii, 191, Ep. Ind., ii, 116.

A Chronological List of the Paramāras of Dhār.

Name.	Known dates.	Remarks.
I. Upendra (Krishnarāja)	circ. 800-825	
II. Vairasinha I ...	circ. 825-850	
III. Siyaka I	850-875	
IV. Vākpati I	875-914	
V. Vairasinha II (Vajrata)	914-941	He acquired Dhār by force of arms.
VI. Siyaka II (Harshadeva)	941-973	He defeated the Rāshtrakūta king Khottiga(971).
VII. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vākpati II (Munja).	973-997	One of the most famous of this line. Defeated the Chedi king Yuvarāja (975-1000).
VIII. Sindhurāja (Sindhula), younger brother of No. 7 ...	997-1010	Hero of Padmagupta's *Navasāhasānka charita*.
IX. *Mra.* Bhojadeva I ...	1010-1055	The most famous king of the line, contemporary of the Chaulukya Bhīmadeva I, of Gujarāt(1022-63).
X. *Mra.* Jayasinha I ...	1055-1059	Was reinstated on his throne by Karna Chedi (1042-1122). Much of Mālwā was then held by Gujarāt,
XI. Udayâditya	1059-1081	He restored the power of the line somewhat, defeating Karna Chedi.
XII. Lakshmadeva ...	1081-1104	
XIII. *Mra.* Naravarmadeva, brother of No. 12.	1104-1133	A great devotee of literature.
XIV. *Mra.* Yashovarman.	1133-1142	This king was defeated by the Gujarāt king and for a time Mālwā fell to the Chaulukyas.
Period of Interregnum...	1142-1155	One Ballāladeva seems to have attempted to revive the Paramāra power.
XV. *Mra.* Jayavarman I.	1142-1160	He was only a nominal ruler.
XVI. *Mahākumāra* Lakshmivarman, brother of No. 15	.....	Period of dual rule by two sections of the line.
XVII. *Mahākumāra* Harischandra	.....	
XVIII. *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman ...	.....	
15. Ajayavarman ...	1144-1160	
16. Vindhyavarman ...	1160-1180	
17. Subhatavarman ...	1180-1210	
18. *Mra.* Arjunavarman-	1210-1216	

A Chronological List of the Paramāras of Dhār.

Name.	Known dates.	Remarks.
XIX. *Mra.* Devapāladeva, son of No. 17 and (brother of 18)..	1216-1240	The succession returned to the original line.
XX. *Mra.* Jaitugideva or Jayasinha II ...	1240-1256	
XXI. Jayavarman, II, brother of No. 20 ...	1256-1261	
XXII. Jayasinha III ...	1261-1280	Dhār was in the hands of Gujarāt.
XXIII. Bhojadeva II ...	1280-1310	
XXIV. Jayasinha IV ...	1310—	

N.B.—Unless otherwise stated each succeeding king is the son of his predecessor All have not the title Mahārājādhirāj, where this exists the letters *Mra* are given.

See also "*Synchronistic Tables,*" Ep, Ind., viii, April, 1906.

The Paramāras of Chandrāvati, near Abu.[1]

Name.	Known dates.	Remarks.
1. Dhūmarāja	.....	
2. Dhanduka	.....	
3. Dhruvabhata ...	.....	
4. Rāmadeva	.....	
5. Yashodhavala (son of 4)	.....	He defeated Ballāla of Mālwā about 1155.
6. Dhārāvarsha (son of 5)	1209	
7. Prahlādana (brother of 6) (not apparently chief)	.....	Founded Pālanpur (Prahlādanapura).
8. Somasinha (son of 6)	1230	Imprisoned by Devapāla.
9. Krishnarājadeva (son of 8)... ...	.....	

[1] See Ep. Ind., viii, 200, ff. *Kirtikanmadi.* Introduction.

N.B.—In 1331 and 1338 Chandrāvati was in the hands of a line of Chauhān kings, who had ousted the Paramāras. See A. S. W. I. No. 2 Appendix. xv, No. 85 and I. A. ii. 256. Someshvara's Abu *Prashasti* gives us genealogical information from No. 4 in the list only.

A chronological table of all important records bearing on the history of the Paramāras.

N.B.—Dates are in *Vikrama Samvat* unless otherwise stated K = Kalachuri, Val = Valabhi, era. *S* = *Saka*.

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's list of northern inscriptions.	Pages in this article.	DATE.		Remarks.
			A. D.	V. S.	
1	7	1	713	770	Record found by James Tod referring to the construction of the Mānsarovar lake near Chitor, by a Paramāra. *Rājasthān*, i, 799 (Or. Ed.)
2	46	2, 6, 17.	974	1031	Ujjain copper plates of Vākpati II., I. A., vi, 51.
3	49	7	979	1036	India Office plates of Vākpati II., I. A., xiv, 160; xix, 23, No. 4.
4	53	6	997	1053	Inscription of the Rāshtrakūta Hastikundi, mentioning Vākpati II., J. B. A,. lxii, 311.
5	57	21	1022	1078	Dhār plates of Bhojadeva I., I. A., vi 53.
6	407	.....	1042	K-793	Benāres plates of Karna Chedi. Mentions Kokalla Chedi as contemporary with Bhojadeva I., Ep. Ind. ii, 305.
7	67	27	1055	1112	Māndhātā plates of Jayasinha I., Ep. Ind., iii, 48.
8	68	.....	1059	1116	Record at Udepur referring to Udayāditya, J. B. A., ix 549.
9	340	Throughout the article.	Circ. 1060	Date missing.	Udepur Prashasti, the most important record yet known of these kings. Ep. Ind., i, 233.
0	689 and 690	.....	1060	1117	Two records of Paramāras from. Bhinmāl in Mārwār. Bom. Gaz., Vol. i, Pt. i, 472, 473.
		.....	1067	1123	

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's list of northern inscriptions.	Pages in this article.	DATE.		REMARKS.
			A. D.	V. S.	
11	69	3, 4.	1080	1136	Inscription of Chāmundarāja, a Paramāra noble. It refers to the services of some of the ruling house. I. A., xxii, 80.
12	70	29	1087	1137	Udepur record referring to Udayāditya. I. A., xx, 83.
13	71	.....	1088	1145	Dūbkund inscription of the Kachchapaghāta family referring to Bhojadeva I. Ep. Ind., ii, 237.
14	77	.....	1104	1161	Record of Govindachandra of Kanauja, mentioning Chandradeva's rise to power on the death of Bhojadeva, and Karna Chedi. I. A., xiv, 103.
15	79	29	1104	1161	Nāgpur Prashasti of Naravarman. Ep. Ind., ii, 182.
16	82	.....	1107	1164	Madhukargarh record found by J. Tod. Trans, Roy. As. Society, i, 226.
17	110	33	1133	1191	Dhār grant of Yashovarman (See No. 21) I. A., xix, 353.
18	112	33	1134	1192	Ujjain plates of Yashovarman. I. A. xix, 349.
19	116	32	1140	1196	Dohad record of Jáyasinha, Chaulukya, referring to victory over Paramāras I. A., x, 159.
20	341	36	Assigned to 1142-3	Date is missing.	Ujjain plate of Jayavarman I, issued from Vardhamānpura (Barwāni?). I. A., xix. 350.
21	121	36	1144	1200	Ujjain plates of Lakshmivarman confirming grant No above. I. A. xix.

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's list of northern inscriptions.	Pages in this article.	DATE.		REMARKS.
			A. D.	V. S.	
22	130	12,16,34	1152	1208	The Vadnagar Prashasti of Kumārapāla Chaulukya. Ep. Ind. i, 296.
23	134	.....	1153	1210	Ajmer inscription containing part of *Harakeli-nātak*. I. A., xx, 210.
24	415	.....	1155	K—907	Record of widow of Gayakarna Chedi, Alhanādevī. It notes that Alhanādevī was a daughter of Vijayasinha and Syāmalādevī, the latter being a daughter of Udayāditya Paramāra. Ep. Ind., i, 10. *See also* K-NI., 431.
25	143	35	1163	1220	Fragmentary record from Udepur of Kumārapāla Chaulukya, shewing that he held much of Mālwā, I.A xviii, 343.
26	145	35	1166	1222	Udepur short record. I. A., xviii, 344.
27	503	34, 35	1169	Val—850	Mentions the defeat of Ballāla of Dhār by Kumārapāla Chaulukya., *Wiener Zeitsch, rift*, iii, 7.
28	160	35	1173	1229	Record of Ajayapāla Chaulukya, shewing that he held part of Mālwā. The record is at Udepur, the great Paramāra store house of records. I.A., xviii, 347.
29	172	36	1178 & 1179	1235 & 1236	Piplianagar plates of Harischandradeva. J. B.A., vii, 736.
30	342	.....	12th or 13th century.	(Date lost).	Jhānsi record of Sallakshanasinha, mentioning Udayāditya of Avanti. Ep. Ind., i, 215.

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's list of northern inscriptions.	Pages in this article.	DATE.		Remarks.
			A. D.	V. S.	
31	189	36	1200	1256	Bhopāl plates of Udayavarman issued from a place on the Narmadā. I.A., xvi, 254.
32	193	1	1209	1265	Record of Bhīma II, of Gujarāt mentioning Dhārāvarsha of the Abu Paramāras. I.A., xi, 221.
33	195	38	1211	1267	Pipliānagar plates of Arjunavarman, issued from Māndu. J. B. A. v, 378.
34	197	38	1213	1270	Bhopāl plates of Arjunavarman issued from Broach. J. A. O. S. vii, 32.
35	198	38	1215	1272	Bhopāl plates of Arjunavarman issued from the Narmadā bank. J.A.O.S., vii. 25.
36	203	39	1218	1275	Harsauda record of Devapāla. I.A., xx, 311.
37	205	39	1223	1280	Kadi plates of Jayasinha of Gujarāt. I.A., vi, 196.
38	Not in list.	40	1225	1282	Māndhātā plates of Devapāla. Ep. Ind., ix, 103.
39	207	40	1230	1286	Udepur record of Devapāla. I.A., xx, 83.
40	209	1	1230	1287	Record of Somasinha Paramāra of Abu *Kirt.* App. B. Ep Ind., viii, 200.
41	210	1, 34	1230	1287	Record of Viradhavala of Dholka mentioning defeat of Ballāla of Mālwā, *Kirt.* App. A. Ep. Ind., viii. 200.
42	214	40	1232(?)	1289	Udepur reccord of Devapāla. I.A. xx, 83.
43	Unpublished.	40	1256	1313	Mori record of Jayavarman.
44	223	40	1256	1313	Rāhatgarh inscript[illegible] of Jaitugideva (J[illegible] sinha). I. A., xx, [illegible]
45	Not in list.	40	1260-61	1317	Grant of Jayavarm[illegible] II. Ep. Ind. ix, 117.

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's list of northern inscriptions.	Pages in this article.	DATE. A. D.	DATE. V. S.	REMARKS.
46	232	41	1269	1326	Pathāri record of Jayasinhadeva, III.
47	244	43	1287	1343	Sārangdeva Vāghelā's record from Verāval referring to the defeat of a Mālwā king Ep. Ind., i, 280.
48	253	43	1310	1387	Abu record of Tejasinha, a Chauhān of Chandrāvati shewing that place had passed from the Paramāras. A. S. W. I., No. 2. App. xv, No. 58.
49	265	1	1338	1394	Record of Kanhadadeva, son of Tejasinha in No. 48. I.A., ii 256.
50	290	43	1439	1496	Guhila record mentioning a king of Mālwā (perhaps a Paramāra) called Gogadeva. *Bhāvanagar* inscriptions, 114. *Prāchīnalekhamālā*, ii, 28.
51	Unpublished.	10	No	date	Mahākāl fragment.
52	Unpublished.				Dhār fragment mentioning Rudrāditya, minister to Munja.
	SOUTHERN RECORDS referring to the Paramāras.				
	List of Southern inscriptions.				
1	64	.....	808	S-730	Rādhanpur plates of Govindarāja, who subdued Mālwā. Ep. Ind., vi, 242.
2	143	.....	982	S-904	Nilgund record of Taila II, who defeated Utpala. Ep. Ind., iv, 206.
3	140	.....	Circ. 996	No date	Record of Taila stating he killed Munja. I. A., xxi, 167.
	328	.....	1000	S-922	Sangamner plates of the Yādava Bhillama II, who is said to have defeated Munja for Taila II. Ep. Ind., ii, 217.

Serial No.	No. in Kielhorn's list of southern inscriptions.	Pages in this article.	DATE.		REMARKS.
			A. D.	V. S.	
5	150	.....	1009	S-930	Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya V. Mentions Taila II's defeat of Munja I.A.,xvi,21.
4	152	.....	1022	S-941	Balgamve record of the Western Chālukya Jayasinha stating he defeated Bhoja I P. O.S.C.I., 154. Mysore Insc..No.72,148
5	756	.....	1070	.....	Record of Rājendra Choladeva II, mentions defeat of the Dhār king and capture of Chakrakota. Southern Indian Insc. Vol. iii, No.64, 133 m.
6	388	.....	1118	½-1039	Record of the Hoysala Ereyanga noting capture of Dhār. P.S.O. C.I., 18. Mysore Insc No. 146, 260.
7	409	.....	1159	S-1081	Srāvana Belgolā record of the Hoysala Narasinha I, notes that Ereyanga burned Dhār and laid waste Chakrakota and that his son Vishnu defeated the lord of Mālwā. Insc., from Srāvana Belgolā. No. 138,106.
8	940	.....	1266	S-1188	Ravivarman of Kerala is termed "king Bhoja of the south" as an honorific title. Ep. Ind., iv, 149.
9	370	.....	1273	S-1193	Paithan plates of Rāmadeva of Devagiri state that Singhana of that dynasty overthrew Arjunavarman Paramāra I. A., xiv, 315.
10	1022	.....	Cir. 1115	No date	Srāvana Belgolā record states, that Prabhāchandra Sūri worshipped by I of Dhār. Srāvana golā Insc., No. 5[illegible]

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